The German Tribune

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

burg, 2 August 1973
th Year - No. 590 - By air

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Military scaledown would upset defence effort, Leber maintains

eldom has a politician in this country so keenly canvassed support for the ted States as Defence Minister Georg ber of late. Never, for that matter, has need been so great.

The anxiety to which Washington's deavours to come to terms with oscow has given rise is nothing new; it s been apparent for some time.

The nuclear agreement concluded by sident Nixon and General Secretary zhnev in San Clemente (without prior sultation of the Nato countries) is s not the cause of anxiety about our urity. It merely brings it to a head.

The Defence Minister is naturally only o well aware of the extent to which urope remains dependent on the United tates.

This is why he has taken pains to laborate in no uncertain terms on his eturn to this country the comforting interpretation of the US-Soviet agreement he was given during his visit to the USA.

Herr Leber's declarations do not

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present a naive belief in the belung-like loyalty of the United tes. They are evidently intended to luence the direction of US policies.

He has resorted to the only feasible thod, that of interpreting the nclusions he brought home with him as finitive statements of US policy.

His political sense of what the situation s for has compelled him to issue tements allowing of no doubts. He has tly departed from the diplomatic ctice of cautiously circumscribing the ition and leaving matters open.

This approach may not be to the liking a number of people on the other side the Atlantic, but it ought to prove ective, since it will strengthen the ition of those for whom America's nd in Europe continues to appear of cial value.

DIE WELT

In an interview with the press the Minister has not only confirmed that he considers the concept of deterrence to be further upheld, he has also explained what for him represents the continued credibility of this strategy.

Herr Leber feels the unitary structure of conventional and nuclear weapons in Europe and the United States by way of an uninterrupted system of escalation to be of the utmost importance.

This unbroken link being, for the Defence Minister the crux of the alliance, he feels it to be only logical that the missile debate between the two superpowers will not affect the alliance set-up, always assuming, of course, that the pact is to remain effective.

In the course of his visit Herr Leber did, let it be added, come to realise that domestic difficulties in the United States place obstacles in the way of a more forceful foreign policy.

He was, for instance, unable to maintain his previous view that mutual balanced force reductions in Central Europe should apply at more or less the same time to both foreign and home troops.



Defence Minister Georg Leber (right) with US Defence Secretary James Schlesinger in Washington (Photo: Sven Simon)

The Minister now feels that priority should be given to foreign forces – American and Soviet troops respectively – and that home forces should be included in the process of reduction after an appropriate period of time has elapsed.

This represents a breakthrough for tendencies aimed at combining this particular disarmament project with burden-sharing between Europe and the United States.

It thereby follows as a matter of course that this country in particular is obliged to maintain its current Nato commitments at the current level for some years to come.

Were this country unilaterally and prematurely to scale down its military potential, the result, Herr Leber points out with a warning note, would be the beginning of an erosion of our combined defence effort.

Wolfram von Raven

(Die Welt, 23 July 1973)

French nuclear potential and the Nine

A mere pair of America's latest Trident nuclear submarines would suffice to provide the minimum destructive capacity needed for a second strike along the lines of current Pentagon strategy.

Two submarine loads of MIRVs would be sufficient to devastate 100 Soviet cities and, always assuming the necessity of course, wipe out fifty per cent of Soviet industrial capacity and a quarter of the population, not counting the after-effects.

This concentrated destruction capacity of modern weapons systems transcends the power of the human imagination. Yet it must be borne in mind in correctly assessing in both military and political terms the future significance of the current French nuclear tests in the Pacific.

France is hard at work on nuclear submarines of its own with their own nuclear devices. It may be well on into the eighties before the French possess the know-how for so powerful a means of destruction as the American Trident submarines and similar, though not quite so highly sophisticated Soviet devices, but there can be no doubt that this target will be accomplished, particularly as France has ignored international protests and backed the project with all the prestige of the *grande nation*.

The Mururoa tests are indispensable for the manufacture of the necessary warheads and will lay the groundwork for a considerable advance in French know-how.

A number of important consequences result, however. A country that is in a position to deploy a strategic weapon capable of such devastation is, both for the Soviet Union and, potentially, any other country, an opponent to be taken seriously. In the foreseeable future the *force de frappe* will be anything but a farce.

Since Britain also has a number of nuclear submarines at its disposal, equipped with US Polaris missiles, the Soviet Union is confronted with one nuclear superpower, the United States, and two minor nuclear powers (in addition to China). In view of the potential of nuclear weapons the term "minor power" is, of course, debatable.

Unlike Britain, France is not in receipt of US nuclear know-how. France is going it alone. This being the case, France will not be in possession of long-range naval missiles with multiple warheads that can be accurately aimed until the mid-eighties; but on the other hand Paris thereby remains politically and militarily independent.

Enough consideration has already been given to the value of agreements such as the non-proliferation and arms limitation and control treaties, not to mention agreements between the Big Two, when nuclear powers such as France and China go it alone.

France's nuclear missiles will not upset the international balance of power, but they do present Europe, particularly the European Community, with a problem. Might not France as a nuclear power hinder still further the process of economic, let alone political integration of the Nine?

Since the days of de Gaulle, if not beforehand, Paris has continually tried to take the lead, and such integration as has already been achieved has been handicapped by both French interests and considerations of French prestige.

As a nuclear power worthy of being taken seriously France would certainly feel itself to be the leading power in Europe and more than a match for both the British and this country.

European political integration is in any case inconceivable as long as nuclear decisions remain the prerogative of one or two nation-States, yet for the time being no one is too enthusiastic about the idea of a European nuclear power.

Paris is categorically opposed, London less categorically but nonetheless definitely opposed to the proposal. The conclusion must surely be that while confidence in the two governments is all well and good, joint control by all Nine would be better.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 23 July 1973)

■ FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Nato faces crucial realignment decision

Nato, established in the coldest of Cold War days, is nearly twenty-five years old. The political climate has improved considerably in the meantime, but not sufficiently to render the pact superfluous in the opinion of member-governments.

The other side certainly has no intention of countenancing tampering with the Warsaw Pact, so the Western alliance too has to survive.

To do so it will need to adjust to the change in temperature and redefine its targets. Otherwise the impression might arise that Nato is incapable of coming to terms with detente and that the existence of the one precludes the possibility of the other.

Something new is needed, but this, of course, is easier said than done. Is a military pact such as Nato at all capable of serving the interests of a policy aimed at enabling East and West to progress from confrontation to cooperation, or at least to reasonable competition, and to establish a new balance of give and take?

If Nato is to become more of a motive force in detente than hitherto, it must needs be realigned. Detente, when all is said and done, currently constitutes for the most part an approach to the Soviet Union. Progress towards detente is also progress towards the Eastern world power. There can be no harm in the countries of the West trying to regulate their own mutual relations at the same time.

So the idea of formulating a new declaration of aims and principles and drafting new policies is not unnatural. Whether the outcome is known as a new Atlantic Charter, to quote Dr Kissinger, or a Nato New Testament, to use Bonn Foreign Minister Walter Scheel's phrase, is neither here nor there. The new aims must merely be acceptable to all concerned.

This presented no difficulties for the Nato of old, such was the pressure brought to bear on it from without in its early years. Of late a common denominator has been proving increasingly difficult to find.

In all probability Mr Brezhnev will succeed in staging his summit conference between Europe and North America. Whether Mr Nixon succeeds in arranging a top-level Western summit is another matter. Even convinced advocates of detente feel this might be too much of a good thing.

Yet the increasing difficulties in relations between America and Western Europe are to be found not only in the economic sphere. There is little point in reiterating assurances that ties are as close as ever. The fact is that the United States is undergoing a particularly trying period in its history.

There is more to this era than scandals and domestic debate might lead one to believe. Americans are increasingly occupying themselves with America. Their somewhat "unamerican" concern with the rest of the world over the past thirty years is, for the time being, coming to a gradual close.

The United States is engaged in a search for an identity of its own, an American identity that cannot be considered the same as a European or other indentity.

This process of fermentation will necessarily lead to greater distance between America and Europe. It will also have political repercussions. Congressional pressure to repatriate US troops is bound to intensify, to mention but one point of consequence on this side of the Atlantic.

Europe, for a change, has made progress, having come to itself again. The countries of Europe have recovered from the war and are self-assured and emancipated. Yet this development likewise retains a strange logic of its own.

Unfortunately the governmental structure of Europe remains unchanged. Europe still does not act in unison. In so many other respects a mature continent, Europe remains politically and militarily dependent on the United States. Europe is limping, particularly with its French leg.

In Bonn and a number of other Western capitals political planners are certainly having to make do for the time being with faint hopes that the French tendency to return to the Nato and European folds will increase as the superpowers come to terms.

Until then, the argument continues, it can only be hoped that Europe's nebulous international personality within the alliance will boost European self-awareness.

Maybe the nations of Europe really do need to be left to their own devices for a while in order to realise, out there in the cold, that they have no alternative but to join forces.

So if it is to make any sense at all, the new Atlantic creed must bridge three gaps – the gap between America and Europe, the rifts within Europe and the discrepancy between Europe's political and economic potential and its military strength or weakness.

Then, and then only, a genuinely joint approach towards relations with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe can be evolved. Then, and then only, politicians will again be able to sing the praises of an alliance aimed at promoting rather than putting a damper on detente.

The West ought not to try and maintain merely military superiority. It must also set an example in all policy fields and aspects of society and pave the way for healthy competition between the systems.

This is a splendid prospect, but a somewhat utopian one. Finding a new relationship with the United States, achieving progress in Europe and organising cooperation across ideological frontiers – and doing all three at one and the same time – will prove extremely difficult.

It could, of course, be that the formulas incorporated in the new Nato declaration of intent theoretically attach equal importance to all three aspects. But a declaration of intent is no guarantee of action, and even at an optimistic estimate the prospects are only fifty-fifty.

The new testament could easily prove to be the last. *Hans-Herbert Gaebel*

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 18 July 1973)

Peking essential for Asian security conference

Some time ago the soviet Union was the first power to suggest a second security conference to lay the groundwork for peace, not in Europe but in Asia. It has recently been reactivated by the Japanes, who hope in this way to play a more active role in world affairs.

At the US-Japanese talks on economic affairs US Secretary of State William P. Rogers stated that his country was most interested in the convening of an Asian-Pacific conference to safegurad peace in Asia, Washington's proviso being that it must first consult other great powers.

In view of past declarations it may be assumed with a fair degree of certainty that the Soviet Union would be prepared to take part in an Asian conference of this kind. The same is true of India, insofar as Moscow approves of the idea.

New Delhi cannot confer unilaterally with Tokyo and Washington if Moscow does not join in. Moscow lent India such effective support during the crucial weeks of warfare with Pakistan.

But an Asian conference without the participation of China would still only be a halfbaked affair and anything but an effective means of settling current conflicts in South-East Asia.

Any such incomplete venture would make nonsense of the work President Nixon and Dr Kissinger have put into their ties with Peking.

Mr Rogers' conditional approval of the Japanese proposal represents a slight change in America's currently unilateral emphasis on relations with Peking in Asia. It cannot represent a sweeping change, however. Were it to do so, Washington would be prejudicing the outcome of its cooperation with China.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 17 July 1973)

President Tito me[...] Nicolae Ceause[...]

When the Rumanian and Y[...] leaders meet, as is curre[...] case, they do so to discuss ma[...] importance. The frontiers they [...] conducive to cooperation betwee[...] and the jointly built and exploited [...] station at the Iron Gate bears [...] testimony to this cooperation.

An even more important link be[...] the two countries is their mutu[...] for greater security and indepen[...] the Soviet Union, the predomi[...] which is felt, in South-Eastern Eu[...] be more oppressive than two [...] years ago.

As Soviet pressure on the Balk[...] been intensified Bucharest and Be[...] have assumed different roles. Ru[...] tied to the Warsaw Pact, has been [...] to respond flexibly to the Soviet de[...] for greater bloc discipline.

Inflexibility would have been [...] for Rumanian leader Nicolae Cea[...] who knows only too well that t[...] factor dissuading Moscow from [...] short shrift of him is that a re[...] of the Czech course of events els[...] in Eastern Europe would put a [...] some time to Soviet detente [...] disarmament talks with the West.

As a result Mr Ceausescu has gi[...] on a number of minor points, pri[...] the formal participation of Rum[...] Eastern Bloc bureaucracy, in ord[...] maintain the substance of his p[...] independence.

Yugoslavia is a different [...] altogether, not being a member [...] Warsaw Pact. What is more, Yug[...] not bordered on three sides by the [...] sphere of influence. Its geogr[...] position does not necessarily le[...] invasion.

Marshal Tito has drawn close[...] Soviet Union, but has done [...] domestic reasons. Since the end [...] he has been engaged in a strug[...] return his multinational state to [...] of Soviet-style dictatorial Commu[...]

The Yugoslav leader has no [...] forfeiting his external indepe[...] Moscow in this process, but [...] resistance to his new policies ha[...] so powerful that President Tito ha[...] it advisable to improve his rel[...] with the Soviet Union by [...] observing good behaviour.

Tito's new *Ostpolitik* has not g[...] to transports of delight in R[...] Belgrade, on the other hand, is [...] that Mr Ceausescu will be able [...] making further cuts in *his* p[...] independence.

Both countries hope the othe[...] prove as resolute as possible, bu[...] current positions are so disparat[...] they can give each other less advi[...] ever before.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine [...] für Deutschland, 17 [...])

Moscow and Peking court Hanoi

Moscow will in future play a leading role in Hanoi affairs, to judge by the pledges of economic assistance taken home by a North Vietnamese delegation led by Party leader Le Duan and Premier Pham Van Dong.

The joint declaration published in all Moscow papers and a similar document issued to mark the conclusion of a week's negotiations in Peking a month previously make interesting reading.

Hanoi is evidently torn between the two hostile brothers, both of whom are keen on gaining the firm support of their militant South-East Asian ally.

The Peking communiqué is the more cordial of the two. It refers to the "revered and beloved Chairman Mao Tse-tung" and the Vietnamese visitors commit themselves to "great friendship with the Communist Party and the Chinese leadership on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarianism."

Hanoi lends support to Peking's Indo-China policies, including its support for Prince Sihanouk, which is not entirely in accord with the Soviet line. The Vietnamese also underscore the inviolability of the "sacred territory" of the People's Republic of China, though only Taiwan is meant by this assertion.

In Moscow the Vietnamese visitors paid lip service to Soviet views on Europe.

The two Red giants' struggle for influence in Hanoi is eloquently documented in the two communiqués, though Peking's economic commitments are fairly negligible, whereas Moscow's are comprehensive.

China merely expresses gratification that solidarity between the two countries will continue to take the form of gratuitous assistance in 1974.

Moscow's commitments, on the other hand, constitute a firm political, economic and cultural embrace on a long-term basis. The bear hug even includes an agreement to consult one another on matters of mutual interest, while economic and technological cooperation are to be intensified.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 19 July 1973)

The German Tri[...]
Publisher: Friedrich Reinec[...] Chief: Otto Heinz. Editor: Alex[...] English language sub-editor: Geo[...] Distribution Manager: Georgine[...] Advertising Manager: Peter Bo[...]
Friedrich Reinecke Verlag Gm[...] Aussicht, Hamburg 76. Tel[...] 02.14733. Bonn bureau: Kon[...] 66 Adenauerallee, 53 Bonn. [...] lex 08 86398.
Advertising rates list No. 10[...] Annual subscription DM 25[...]
Printed by Krögers Buch- und V[...] rei, Hamburg-Blankenese. Distr[...] USA by: MASS MAILINGS, In[...] Street, New York, N.Y. 1001[...]
All articles which THE GERMA[...] reprint are published in coope[...] editorial staffs of leading [...] Federal Republic of Germany[...] plete translations of the [...] way abridged nor editorially [...] GERMAN TRIBUNE also publ[...] Reviews and a Supplement [...] from German periodicals.
In all correspondence please [...] scription number which appe[...] per, to the left of your address[...]

■ POLITICS

Political scene fascinated by possible SPD/FDP breakup

[R]umour hath it that there is a change in the political climate of this [count]ry in store. This refers to the [Opp]osition claim, hotly disputed by the [Gove]rnment, that the relationship be[twee]n the SPD and FDP coalition [part]ners is under a cloud.

[The]re is even talk of the Social [Dem]ocrats and Free Democrats possibly [part]ing company. And the upshot of all [the] speculation for those who are [rub]bing their hands with glee at the [thou]ght is that the FDP in breaking free [fro]m the SPD could run back into the [arm]s of the "union" parties and thus pave the way for a new CDU/CSU-led government.

The desire to regain government status a legitimate sentiment for any Opposition party – is first and foremost the spiritual father of such speculations, which have been expressed by Professor Karl Carstens, Rainer Barzel's successor as Opposition floor leader, and by Gerhard Stoltenberg. Their weather forecast, "a change likely in the political climate in this country", is based on "growing difficulties" in the SPD/FDP coalition. And their hopes for sunnier days are based on the fact that the FDP is drawing up much stronger cold fronts between itself and the SPD on policies than in the past.

Much more thought is now being given to the governmental alliance, and Walter Scheel has thrown out a few veiled hints that every coalition sooner or later comes to the point where member parties must go their separate ways.

Without doubt the euphoria of the early days following the decisive victory over the CDU/CSU has dispelled. And there are clear indications that there could be a decisive shift in the isobars by the time the 1976 general election comes along (but not sooner on any account). It is not just "something in the air". The signs are much more concrete.

The adhesive that bound this coalition together and which has held it firm until now is showing signs of weakening under pressure. By 1976 it could have lost more of its holding power. The joint line the two parties took over German and East Bloc policy will be a thing of history. The great moves have been made, the points have been set, *faits* have been *accomplis* – and even the Opposition has to respect these facts, palatable or not.

Now the SPD and FDP are faced with reaching agreement on matters of social welfare, worker participation in management, land law and capital accumulation schemes for the private individual. Now the acid test is how far the free enterprise economy can be upheld. It is on these scores that the SPD/FDP coalition will stand or fall.

The Liberal idea of social welfare and economic policies is bound to come into conflict with those forces within the SPD that would like to change this State and run it along radical Marxist lines, that say "reform" and really mean "revolution".

Thus the question of whether or not the government coalition will continue is, in the main, a matter of the condition of the SPD, a matter of how strong the SPD's resistance to the inroads made by extreme left-wing elements is

The situation in Bonn is far from being a reliable yardstick for gauging the cohesion of the party. In many big cities there are growing conflicts between radical and moderate elements which are worrying for the party and debase its currency as a coalition partner to a liberal party.

These disputes are not the invention of those who hope for a change in the political climate, the Opposition members who are talking of growing difficulties for the SPD.

What we have seen in Munich and Frankfurt recently, and what has been tried in Kaiserslautern, Lübeck and other cities in no less penetrating a fashion is the rash attempt to push through an imperative mandate, no matter what losses may be incurred by so doing, thus converting freely elected MPs with a free right to make up their own mind into machines capable only of receiving the party's instructions and carrying them out. This has been tried openly in public.

Local government policies would as a result he carried out from an ideologically narrow point of view without regard to the economic facts. If this development should pass from local governments to the Federal state assemblies and from there to Bonn it would really seriously create a need for testing the ability of the SPD and FDP to remain coalesced. The FDP would seriously have to consider breaking away.

Difficulties plaguing the government coalition, those in existence and those that can be expected in the future, are always a favourite theme of the Opposition of the day.

In *Vorwärts*, the SPD-controlled magazine, a recent article referred to the breaking strain of the SPD/FDP coalition and talked of the "excesses"...and "thoughtlessness" of SPD groups in the big cities for fouling their own nest, creating fronts and allowing a creeping devaluation of the mandate handed out by the electorate on 19 November, as well as the efforts of the new CDU leadership to improve relations with the FDP.

This may be just a warning shot across the bows of over-zealous comrades whose efforts at practising radical social welfare policies and implementing an imperative mandate could put the SPD back in the red where the credit and debit figures of the voters are concerned.

But at the same time we can see the way the wind is blowing for the SPD/FDP coalition if the pressure from the left on the SPD continues. *C. M. Lankau*

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 15 July 1973)

Young Socialists want to be able to 'fire' bundestag members

According to Professor Strasser, a senior official of the Young [So]cialists, the possibility of introducing [leg]islation to make it possible to "sack" a [mem]ber of the Bundestag in the midst of [a le]gislative period should be given serious [con]sideration. MPs would be liable for [ex]pulsion if they went against the party [lin]e, broke their election promises or [in]fringed basic resolutions.

In an interview with the magazine *Konkret* Strasser, expressing his views, admitted that there would be many difficulties in this respect. He was not sure whether the electorate or the party should be given the right to fire an MP.

Professor Strasser, who has the reputation of being the Young Socialists' ideologist-in-chief, explaining the attitude of the "Jusos" to the imperative mandate, said that it was not a question of binding delegates to every decision taken on senior committees. He said that the rank and file could not be expected to agree with all decisions taken at a higher level. "In this strict sense the imperative mandate is rubbish," he said.

But it is necessary, in Strasser's opinion, for MPs to be bound by major party policy decisions. An MP could agree [to] differ with the party over basics, but would have to explain himself to grass roots. Today many MPs excused themselves from adhering to the party line on conscientious grounds.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 19 July 1973)

Gustav Heinemann may put up for second term of office

Discussions about whether or not Federal President Gustav Heinemann [wi]ll stand for a second term of office are [bei]ng described by informed circles in [Bo]nn as "very premature". It is believed [th]at the President and Chancellor Brandt [ha]ve agreed that the matter of re-election [sh]ould be cooled completely until [Fe]bruary next year.

Elections for the Presidency are [ex]pected to take place in the spring of [19]74, perhaps even before the Hamburg [co]uncil elections. But even if Bundestag [Pr]esident Annemarie Renger [put]s off the presidential elections to a [late]r date the elections to the Hamburg [St]ate would presumably have little [eff]ect on the constitution of the national [ass]embly. The government coalition [par]ties SPD and FDP have a majority.

[Pre]sident Heinemann stated years ago [that h]e only wanted to hold the office of [Hea]d of State for five years. But close [frie]nds feel that circumstances might [pers]uade him to change his mind. His [sat]isfaction with this job has grown and he feels both physically and mentally, capable of holding the office for many more years.

However, Gustav Heinemann would not lose sight of the fact that he would be 74 at the start of a second term and would be expected to hold this office till he was 79. It was obviously with this in mind that the President decided to postpone the question of re-election till next February.

His decision whether to stay or go will also depend on whether the SPD and FDP can find another convincing candidate for the post. The possible candidature of FDP National Chairman Walter Scheel does not seem likely to take place although Scheel would undoubtedly be championed by SPD and FDP.

Scheel is obviously tempted by the highest post in the State – but not yetawhile. The FDP leader is young enough to be able to wait for another legislative period before applying for election to the presidency. Moreover Scheel's departure from political activity would undoubtedly cause leadership problems in the FDP, which would be difficult to resolve.

The SPD, too, does not have an obvious candidate for Head of State. Both Carlo Schmid and Alex Möller are regarded as being too old for the job. And both would have to reckon with strong opposition within party ranks. Georg Leber is young enough, but his support within the party is on the wane. For this reason Gustav Heinemann may well decide to stay on for a second term.

But he will certainly only do so if he feels confident in his own mind that he can carry out his duties satisfactorily for a further five years. Heinemann is highly self-critical and would not make any such decision from motives of political opportunism. *Werner Bollmann*

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 17 July 1973)

Embryo left flank grows in CSU

Süddeutsche Zeitung

Among the phrases that were best not uttered in public by members of the Christian Social Union who courted political success was until recent times "worker participation in management on a parity basis". If the party ever mentioned this contingency at all it was, for many years, to dismiss it as an aberration of "neo-Marxist ideology". Those who championed it were cast in the role of enemies of the free enterprise economy.

Just how little truck the CSU had with *Mitbestimmung* was shown clearly in the last Bundestag legislative period. The CSU Federal state group was the only parliamentary faction to reject out of hand the new *Betriebsverfassungsgesetz* (labour-management relations act) which provided for a greater say for the labour force in the running of industry.

This remarkable solidarity in the CSU was in marked contrast to the casting of votes in the CDU, where a group formed uround the nucleus of Hans Katzer. It showed clearly that the Bavarian party lacked a left flank.

But since mid-July it has begun to look as if times could be a-changing. The Christian Social Workers Association (CSA) decided at its most recent state-wide conference in Nuremberg in favour of the introduction of worker participation on a parity basis, and, what is more, a system founded on the company law at present in force. This followed long years of dispute on this point within the CSA.

What is of greater significance than this decision on worker participation itself, something which no organisation representing the labour force can ignore today, is the effects it will have on the policies of the CSU.

In a party where the number-one commandment seems to have been: Thou shalt not be divided, at least since the beginning of the Strauss era, a party whose conferences have had the character of a public statement of policy rather than a forum for airing differences of opinion, the decision taken in Nuremberg, which the party will now have to chew over, takes on the nature of a starting pistol for the long-overdue controversial debating stakes.

Self-critical members of the CSA ralise that it woll be many a moon before their organisation carries comparable weight to the parallel body attached to the CSU.

They also know why the workers' organisation in the CSU has been virtually a voice in the wilderness for so many years. Its leaders have timorously toed the party line, an accusation that was recently levelled at the CSA by its own Federal state secretary.

The CSA's dealings with the Confederation of Trades Unions (DGB) have often been clumsy. They have struggled to make the unions accept the competition they threw up in the form of workers' councils.

And then they had Fritz Pirkl as their chairman. By nature he is not the kind of man who can turn an organisation within a party into a pressure group.

Throughout the years the CSA [illegible] by impotently and watched [illegible] against the intention [illegible] by becoming more and more a party of industrialists and the middle classes. This is a state of affairs that could now change faster than many people would [illegible]

[illegible]

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, [illegible] 1973)

■ DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

SPD leaders concerned at their non-communication with youth

Many leading Social Democrats are currently observing the political scene with anger and a remarkable degree of pessimism. Their mood can be explained in part by the distant prospect of the SPD-FDP coalition breaking up.

Experienced strategists within the party are grimly warning their colleagues not to take any action which may lose them votes. *Vorwärts*, the party newspaper which always used to support the left wing *as the demiurge of history* – to use Marxist terminology – has now issued them with a warning.

This article is only one visible sign of the widespread mood of concern within the party. The growing confidence of the CDU/CSU Opposition also fits in with the general picture.

But behind these party political considerations there is a growing and more profound concern about this country's constitutional structure, the authority of democratic institutions and the legitimation of the State itself.

As an isolated phenomenon the air traffic controllers' go-slow provides no sufficient ground for alarm. "But what would happen if a police unit were to refuse to use violence in order to break up a violent demonstration?" a prominent Social Democrat asked with some concern.

Action of this type would form a precedent. But this eventuality must always be reckoned with, especially as the police force is a favourite target for criticism, is not always backed to the hilt by political authorities and is constantly subjected to the attacks of a small but conspicuous section of the community. This would however result in a breakdown of public order and petty and political crime would reign supreme.

These worries may be exaggerated but they have a long tradition in the SPD. The "Majority Socialists" have discussed the problem of legitimation for over one hundred years.

The list of speakers ranges from Karl Marx and Friedrich Lasalle to Karl Kautsky, from Eduard Berstein to Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, Friedrich Ebert and Philipp Scheidemann.

Some groups propagated social revolution, the violent change of the social and economic system, as the only legitimate course which should determine political ethics. Other groups adhered unwaveringly to the rules of parliamentary democracy and declared that no reform was justified unless supported by a majority of the elected representatives of the people.

They always considered the institutions of a parliamentary, democratic and constitutional State as legitimate, even though the power exerted by these institutions had always been to the detriment of Social Democracy.

The problem of legitimation is nothing new for the SPD. It has always formed a part of their everyday politics prompting tension within the party. Party veterans are discouraged by the fact that the problem still rears its head, 125 years after the party's birth.

The party, right down to local branches, is still arguing about whether reform stabilises the system or overcomes it. This does not represent a dispute about tactics but delves into the far deeper problem about Man's role in society.

One symptom for the concern with which Social Democrats are viewing current developments is the at times heated argument about the guidelines for introducing fourteen to sixteen-year-old schoolchildren to social policy.

Political scientists and educationalists who sympathise with the SPD have reacted with particular sharpness and obvious nervousness to these plans. They even warn against the use of the word "guidelines" as this forces teachers and pupils in one direction and impinges on their freedom of decision.

A report by Professors Pross, Czempiel, Link and Stürmer claims that the authorities cannot issue regulations defining "social progress" and "the spread of democracy", stating what this involves and costs and forecasting the consequences. This must be thrashed out within the *pluralistic* society.

Running one's own life, sharing in the responsibility of running the State and ending inequality may be considered indisputable aims of democracy, the report states, but every child must learn and know that it is not the aims that are controversial but the means by which to achieve them. Less and less attention is being paid to this point.

Other topics too should be seen in similarly absolute terms. The central feature of all social life is conflict, the compulsion to take sides, the incessant struggle and the friend-foe relationship, it is claimed.

But little information is provided about the various ways conflicts can be solved. The *rules* of human coexistence are therefore considered secondary and unimportant. Even law is looked upon as a subsidiary product of conflict. Dialectics then becomes dogma.

The same method can be observed when defining interests. Young Marxists simply state that the contemporary age like the whole of history is governed exclusively by material interests [illegible] these interests are objectively de[illegible]

"Good" and "bad" intere[illegible] therefore be distinguished fr[illegible] another with comparative ease [illegible] can no longer be any question of [illegible] Who can argue when told that repr[illegible] the interests of wage-earners is [illegible] historical and moral necessity? Th[illegible] dissenters will be a handful of ca[illegible] and their lackeys. One feature of [illegible] suggestive language is that it no [illegible] allows examination of its own co[illegible] and becomes increasingly remo[illegible] reality.

It is no longer surprising tha[illegible] young academics consider the F[illegible] Republic incapable of balancing "b[illegible]ly contradictory interests" as [illegible] organised along capitalist lines [illegible] conclusion is obvious – the F[illegible] Republic's political system m[illegible] relatively practical for a certain pe[illegible] time but it is worthless in principle.

Social Democratic critics do not [illegible] any by describing the dialect[illegible] historical materialism expressed [illegible] view as a step backward to a th[illegible] era. The intellectuals and politi[illegible] the older generation, whatever [illegible] political leanings, will agree that [illegible] must be the source of ideology.

Social Democratic leaders are [illegible]cerned most of all about the la[illegible] success they have had in discussion [illegible] their younger and more doc[illegible] colleagues. The FDP and CDU/CSU [illegible] not sit back in the belief that th[illegible] internal party squabble of no con[illegible] them.

Leading Young Socialists have [illegible] the bold claim that the first big [illegible] conflict will not come until the [illegible] The SPD majority and the trade [illegible] will then be called to reckoning.

This process could spread from [illegible] university lecture rooms to the [illegible] floor and call into question [illegible] democratic State and its leg[illegible] institutions. Though this appears [illegible] at present, the possibility cannot be [illegible] out.

Hans H[illegible]

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 14 J[illegible])

Public would prefer more control of elected representatives

According to a recent public opinion poll, more than sixty per cent of people in the Federal Republic would prefer important political decisions to be made by the country as a whole and not by the political parties or elected deputies.

Heinrich Köppler, the CDU's deputy national Chairman and leader of the Opposition in the North Rhine-Westphalia Provincial Assembly, recently called for "plebiscitary elements" to be introduced, at least at a local level.

Action groups are drawing more attention to themselves in the towns and cities. Their activities consist of attacking the plans put forward by the authorities or trying to get their own proposals adopted.

During the 1972 election campaign, it will be remembered, more action groups were set up than ever before to support the party of their choice and in many places they at times overshadowed official party activities or pushed them right into the background.

These developments demonstrate that people's interest in political events in the broadest sense of the term has increased, perhaps because they are able to obtain greater information.

They are also a response to the increasing everyday strains on the individual which may be caused by ill-judged social and economic trends, negative influences from the world around or false, inadequate or completely non-existent reaction on the part of the authorities.

These developments provide some of the basis for the demand that deputies should be subject to what is termed an imperative mandate. Members of a parliament or elected officials such as mayors would be required to obey the wishes and instructions of parties and party organisations.

The Social Democrats in particular and the members of parliament and local government officials belonging to their ranks have turned to this problem since Hans-Jochen Vogel, now Housing Minister in Bonn, surprisingly decided not to run for a further term as Mayor of Munich.

Sometimes it is no more than the mere desire for power – or wish to grumble – that is concealed behind the demand that elected or appointed deputies must not only inform their party about their own activities but must also swing into line with the demands of the grass roots.

But usually the people advocating this system believe that direct democracy allegedly operating in Switzerland or aimed at by left wing organisation is morally superior to a representative democracy of the type operating in the Federal Republic and possesses a greater degree of legitimation in the exercise of its power.

The only doubt is the extent to which a direct democracy would be able to keep control of an industrialised mass society and adapt it quickly enough to the constant changes demanded by population trends, technology, the economy, transport, communications and the many other decisive factors of our age. Mere discussion does not lead to action.

Representative democracy is not perfect. Politicians such as Julius Steiner, Hans-Joachim Baeuchle and Karl Wienand bear adequate witness to this claim. But it can cope better with challenges of this type than any other system that has been tried. Its duty to satisfy citizens' claims for a greater share in decision-making has not yet been adequately fulfilled however.

The strained relations between electors and elected can probably only be overcome if deputies above all and, to a certain degree, public officials manage to change their image and the way they see their role.

The representatives of the people must display greater willingness to provide those they represent with sufficient information about their views and intentions, to listen to their opinions, encourage them to make additional proposals or counter-suggestions and then to be influenced by them when making their decisions.

But authoritarian patterns of thought and behaviour still hold sway in this country – and not only in the political world. Tradition, habit and indolence help to preserve them.

But any politician trying to save time by taking a decision without informing interested or affected parties will usually find that he will need far more ti[illegible] later date to clear up misunderst[illegible] or iron out difficulties. Though [illegible] frequently experienced, few people [illegible] prepared to learn a lesson from it.

Contacts between citizens and [illegible] representatives are more easy to [illegible] at a local level than at Federal [illegible] national level. There can be a fr[illegible] discussion of motives in parties or [illegible] oranisations than in parliaments [illegible] public departments. But parties and [illegible] organisations can and should only [illegible] aims. Their opinions are rarely b[illegible] when it comes to putting them [illegible] practice.

Finally, the practical politicians [illegible]sponsible for public administration [illegible] themselves decide the extent [illegible] they are able to follow the ideas [illegible] or advice of their party colleagues.

They always pay sufficient attention [illegible] the wishes of the people they represent [illegible] they are elected for only four years [illegible] then have to stand again. But this [illegible] not be pushed to extremes. Any el[illegible] representative needs time to learn [illegible] ropes and gain experience.

The decisive factor is that [illegible] individual re-examine his methods [illegible] is nothing startlingly new or re[illegible]tionary. It is nothing more or less [illegible] democratic though the democracy [illegible]ferred is not the type operated [illegible] dignitaries but one operating in a [illegible]munity where citizens are recognised [illegible] their representatives as adults capable [illegible] making up their own minds and treated [illegible] such. Both sides still have a lot to [illegible] The sooner this happens the better.

Hans Gerlach

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 17 July 1[illegible])

■ LABOUR AFFAIRS

Nuremberg research institute to publish career advice handbook

DIE ZEIT

Researchers at the Nuremberg-based Institute for Employment and Careers Research produce more than the unreadable academic dissertations often associated with their colleagues in other academic branches. Their reports outline the policies that could best be adopted in the job world.

They are concerned as much with students who break off their course of studies as with ancillary staff. They investigate the regional mobility of working men and women as thoroughly as the career opportunities open to the handicapped.

The Institute was set up in 1967 because the Federal Labour Bureau also based in Nuremberg, recognised that career advice services and labour exchanges required a solid scientific foundation. At that time the careers advice service was being criticised by the public and the recession had exposed the weaknesses in the structure of the labour market.

Both employers and trade unions readily approved the establishment of the institute as a result. Its duties are painstakingly defined. In its capacity as the Federal Bureau's research department it is to study the development of the labour market, jobs and career training opportunities and publish its results as quickly as possible.

Anton Sabel, at that time head of the Federal Labour Bureau wanted a relatively small though dynamic team. The research institute had a staff of seven when it first opened. It now has 83.

Just under half the staff is academic, consisting of economists, sociologists, career researchers and technologists. The latest operational report lists 71 research projects that are currently being conducted. A total of 79 have already been completed. The annual budget has now been increased to seven and a half million Marks.

Josef Stingl, head of the Federal Labour Bureau, says he is extremely pleased about the research institute's work up to now. Gerhard Assmann, the trade unionist who is chairman of the Federal Bureau's executive, praises the Institute's excellent work and expresses his satisfaction about its development and activities. His only regret is that its findings are not always put into practice.

Putting their recommendations into practice is indeed the main problem faced by the researchers. Lutz Reyher, deputy director of the Research Institute and head of the department for trade and regional research, has no illusions: "It is certainly not easy to put the research findings into practice at labour exchanges and career advice centres but we are always looking for a solution."

The Institute tries to demonstrate the efforts it is making in a number of its publications, primarily in its "Information on Labour Market and Career Research". The researchers claim to reach an international standard in their scientific publications.

They are soon to publish a handbook on career training and job opportunities which they hope will provide a link with practice. The four-hundred page volume should provide career advice services with a reliable and comprehensive guide of the opportunities at their disposal.

The volume consists of three sections. The first analyses 120 training courses offered by schools, universities or the firms themselves. Section two deals with the 120 most important professions and section three lists the opportunities open to job-hunters in the various branches of industry. The handbook will be brought up to date at regular intervals and a learning programme will be developed to encourage career advice services to consult it.

The handbook will provide information about the links between training and practice and will also indicate the various branches of industry in which particular training courses should prove useful.

Studies of this type are important when it is considered that only a third of all trained joiners work in the building and allied trades. The majority have found good jobs in the various other branches of industry. Professions overlap so much today that career advisers can easily lose touch with the real situation.

But the career researchers in Nuremberg still refuses to provide accurate forecasts on the future of various professions. "I refuse to be forced into the role of prophet," former head Anton Sabel said seven years ago.

Lutz Reyher agrees: "It cannot be science's duty to draw up guidelines for the opportunities offered in various professions. We provide situation analyses and indicate the complex nature of the world of labour."

In many cases the demand in specific professions depends on the political decisions of the legislature. Some three quarters of all graduates are today employed in the civil service or other public bodies.

"If every school is to have its own psychologist in future, we shall have to register a shortage of people available in this profession," Hans Hofbauer, a member of the Institute, comments. "But if this plan is not put into practice we shall have too many psychologists."

Labour exchange staff provide the research institute with important information. Whenever a large scale investigation is planned – such as the survey of the professional careers of 75,000 male workers – the research institute interviews between two and three thousand career advisers and labour exchange staff.

Industry too does all it can to help the research department. Only five to six per cent of the five thousand firms asked to cooperate in a personnel planning survey refused.

But the research team does not plan to do without research altogether – on the contrary. "We lack a theoretical basis," Lutz Reyher comments. "We are still hanging in the air." Much of the Institute's work will remain fragmentary without a rational labour market theory.

Shortcomings of this nature could cause great harm, as Josef Stingl points out: "Questions of training, careers and job opportunities can only be answered on the basis of adequate information. Otherwise the wrong decisions may be taken."

Hermann Bössenecker

(Die Zeit, 29 June 1973)

Noise menace

Professor Manfred Hagenkötter, head of the Federal Institute for Industrial Safety and Accident Research, recently issued alarming figures on the number of workers in the Federal Republic who suffer damage to their health as a result of noise – their number has doubled every two and a half years since 1960.

Speaking at a conference in Dortmund, Professor Hagenkötter stated that only two hundred such cases were registered in 1960. By 1971 this figure had risen to 3,163. Two million workers in the Federal Republic probably need medical examinations as a result of excess noise.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 15 June 1973)

Survey reveals most believe foreign workers vital for the economy

The majority of people in this country oppose mass dismissal of foreign labour as a solution to economic difficulties, according to a survey conducted by Infas among some one thousand adults. But there is also opposition to the recruitment of further foreign workers.

Some forty per cent of the sample feared that the increased employment of foreign labour would pose difficulties for the economy. Forty-two per cent disagreed. Seven years ago 57 per cent expected difficulties to result and only twenty per cent expected no problems.

Comparing the 1966 and 1973 polls, Infas suggests that xenophobic tendencies have now given way to the realisation that the economy needs foreign labour.

Exactly 35 per cent of the population approved of the mass dismissal of foreign labour in 1966 even though the majority – forty per cent – was against any course of this type. In 1973 the sixteen per cent who support this step are far outweighed by the 66 per cent who reject it.

Asked seven years ago whether more foreign workers should be recruited, 73 per cent said no and ten per cent yes. This year sixty per cent said no and 24 per cent yes.

(Neue Hannoversche, 15 June 1973)

New legislation for five-day week for minors

Minister of Labour Walter Arendt proposes a maximum five-day and forty-hour week for all minors in legislation he is proposing to extend the legal protection given to young workers.

His Bill also enrisages 30 working days holiday instead of 24 (34 instead of 28 for miners working at the coal face), an extension to bans on employment and an expansion of medical schemes.

The Bill has now been submitted to the relevant associations and organisations for their comments. The Cabinet will discuss it this autumn. The Bill covers twelve main points:

1. Legislation intended to protect young workers will be standardised. The special regulations applying to family concerns, agriculture and inland navigation will be abolished.
2. The minimum working age will be increased from fourteen to fifteen. Where danger is involved, such as working on the coal face, the minimum age will be increased to sixteen.
3. A five-day week will be introduced for young workers to give them more leisure time at weekends. The employment of the young on Sundays and public holidays will only be allowed at hospitals, nursing homes, hotels and restaurants, in inland navigation, agriculture and family concerns and in the music, drama, entertainment, radio, television and film industries.

But young workers in these industries must be given at least two free Sundays in every four and they will not be allowed to work over the Christmas, Easter or Whitsun holidays or on 1 January or 1 May, which are both public holidays. If a young worker is employed on a Sunday he must be given a free day in lieu.

4. Annual holidays will be increased from 24 to 30 working days for all young workers or from 28 to 34 for those working at the coal face.
5. In view of general health requirements the working week for minors will be reduced to forty hours from the present 44 or, in family concerns and agriculture, 48. Few exceptions will be allowed to the forty-hour week.

When minors over sixteen work alongside adults, their rates may be increased to those of adult workers. They will then be allowed to work a maximum of eight and a half hours a day and 42 hours a week. Anything up to 48 hours a week will be allowed in agriculture during the harvest period.

6. Minors are to be allowed a day off work when attending courses for four hours or more at a vocational college, instead of the present six hours. Minors will not allowed to work during any week when they attend a vocational college full time for at least five days.
7. Young workers must be granted adequate tea breaks. Those working between four and a half and six hours are entitled to a break of thirty minutes. Where the working day is longer than six hours, the young worker is to be granted a break of thirty minutes and a series of short breaks totalling a further thirty minutes.
8. To limit the amount of time a minor is expected to be at his place of work, the new law will impose a maximum shift period (including breaks) of ten hours, or eight hours for those working at the coal face. Young workers are entitled to an uninterrupted rest period of at least twelve hours once their working day is over.

To ensure that minors have a good night's sleep, the new law will ban night work between eight p.m. and six a.m. But if their career training course requires it, minors above sixteen will be allowed to work in restaurants until ten o'clock at night, in factories with shift-working and a regular one or two-week changeover until eleven o'clock and in bakeries from five o'clock in the morning.

9. Prohibitions will be imposed on the employment of minors in various trades in order to protect their health and shield them against danger. Minors may not be employed on work which exceeds their physical capabilities, endangers their physical, mental, intellectual or social development or exposes them to moral dangers. The present ban on piece-time or assembly-line working will be extended to any job offering the incentive of higher pay for greater speed.
10. Annual medical examinations will be provided to increase the medical care offered to young workers. The effectiveness of legislation to safeguard the interests of young workers will be increased by making employer, trade union and youth organisations participate to a greater extent in the duties outlined by this legislation.
12. Violations of laws safeguarding the interests of young workers will be punished with severity.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 18 July 1973)

■ COMMON MARKET

France is the odd man out in European political union trends

From the start there was nothing very convincing about the pledge taken by the Common Market heads of government at the Paris summit in October 1972 to work towards the establishment of a European political union by 1980.

If the pace and extent of political cooperation between the Nine are taken as a yardstick, their earnest appears even less credible.

Cooperation so far has been guided less by the target and tempo on which the countries concerned agreed at the Paris summit than by the principles of national sovereignty that had to be superseded if the grand design of Paris was to be rendered feasible.

There has, of course, been no lack of verbal commitments to European integration. On 19 June, for instance, French Foreign Minister *Michel* Jobert told the National Assembly in Paris that "Europe must exist."

"It must exist," he continued, "in order to ensure the continued existence of the states of Europe. By joining forces they will represent a real power to be reckoned with in the world. No one will be able to strike a balance of world power without them, still less against them."

In practice this unison has all too often been stymied by France going it alone. France is strictly adhering to its doctrine that there is a world of difference between economic and political affairs within the European Community.

According to France economic and trading matters are the responsibility of Common Market institutions.

The conduct of political affairs, foreign policy in particular, remains the responsibility of the nine sovereign member-governments.

The French have set increasingly greater store by this doctrine of late, much to the chagrin of the other eight. They have, of course, always been opposed to a Common Market political secretariat (unless it is located in Paris); now they are engaged in an attempt to stymie the degree of institutionalised foreign policy cooperation already established in the Davignon Committee.

The intransigence with which France doggedly obstructs integration in this sector has led to British cat-calls of "odd man out." Yet Britain is probably to blame for driving the French to this extreme.

The British were granted admission to the Common Market by France as *advocates of national sovereignty*. Now they are established as members they are showing less appreciation of orthodox Gaullism and frequently taking sides against Paris.

For Britain trade and politics are one and the same, which is why Whitehall has always been in favour of establishing a political secretariat in Brussels.

The most outrageous instance of French pettifogging, or so many Common Market diplomats feel, is the forthcoming session of the Davignon Committee in Copenhagen and Brussels.

The committe will convene on 23 July in Copenhagen for political consultations. Copenhagen was agreed on as the venue because France is not keen on having the committee meet in Brussels and because Denmark currently chairs the Council of Ministers.

The Danish Foreign Minister would have been perfectly happy to travel to Brussels for the meeting, particularly as he has to fly to Brussels later that day anyway for a meeting of the Council of Ministers.

So much for procedural obstacles. In respect of political substance the situation does not look much more promising either, especially as regards the second stage of the security conference and transatlantic exchanges between Western Europe and America.

Thus far agreement on a joint approach to the European security conference has more or less worked. As one European diplomat put it, what the Nine had in common was a uniformity of scepticism, and in conjunction with other free countries they have succeeded in gaining a number of unlikely concessions from the Soviet Union.

During the Helsinki conference of Foreign Ministers the Davignon Committee also met in the Finnish capital, electing to confer in the garden of the British embassy in order to evade the attentions of wire-tappers and bugging devices.

One of the items on the committee's agenda was the joint approach to be adopted when the conference reconvenes in Geneva. Paris agreed to further consultations, but only on condition that no inroads be made into the individual country's freedom of decision.

The upshot is that coordination will now prove more difficult, particularly on humanitarian ties, France not being willing to go far beyond cultural and scientific exchanges and thus being nearer the Soviet viewpoint than any of the others.

The other Common Market countries feel that France is proving even more intransigent over the dialogue with the United States. Paris is certainly keener than either London or Bonn on ensuring that Washington and the European Community do not enter into general discussions on economic, monetary and defence matters.

The good and the bad eggs, to use Willy Brandt's figure of speech, are to be kept in separate baskets. Besides, the Common Market is not responsible for defence matters, and France thus feels that there is no need for a summit conference between President Nixon and the European Community heads of government.

The sole concession the French have so far made on the Davignon Committee is that the presidents of the Brussels Commission and the Council of (Foreign) Ministers be authorised to meet President Nixon.

The French will probably be opposed to even a declaration of intent by the Common Market, let alone an authorisation to negotiate on the Community's behalf, so the meeting between President Nixon and the two Europeans is likely in any case to be a mere formality.

Members of the Davignon Committee are ironically wonderin whether the other Common Market Foreign Ministers might not be invited to attend the meeting in a private capacity. After all, Europe must exist, as M. Jobert put it.

Dieter Schröder
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 12 July 1973)

Brussels upset by American export controls

Common Market Commissioners are showing increasing anxiety about President Nixon's economic policies. Washington's export restrictions on animal fat, doubtless to be followed by controls on the export of other commodites, are felt to represent a serious inroad into the free play of world trade.

They will represent as much of a psychological burden on the forthcoming Gatt round as import restrictions would have been.

The aim of America's export restrictions is to get to grips at long last with the domestic price spiral. The US price freeze has proved ineffective because of the scarcity of raw materials and their additional expense as the economy picks up.

In a number of sectors on the US home market demand has so outstripped supply that export restrictions have been deemed necessary in order to impose a brake on the price of raw materials.

The consequence has been a new kind of exported inflation. As a result of the US export restrictions the rising prices of raw materials and commodities on world markets have tended to rise still faster.

This state of affairs is particularly dangerous for the Common Market, which is far more dependent than the United States on imports of raw materials of which it has no domestic reserves whatsoever.

The pressure of rising prices on world markets is offset to a certain extent by the European float against the dollar of six Continental countries, but it is hurting Britain, Ireland and Italy all the harder, thus intensifying the discrepancy of

Frankfurter Rundschau

inflationary trends within the Common Market.

In view of the pressure of rising prices at home President Nixon is evidently having to abandon for the time being the second major target of his economic policies: striking a balance of payments.

Export restrictions are bound to widen America's trading gap and increase the US balance-of-payments deficit, and to judge by comments made by Arthur Burns, president of the Federal Reserve Bank, and Assistant Finance Secretary Paul Volcker the United States, having originally welcomed general floating, would now prefer to return to fixed parities as soon as possible.

The dollar is now undervalued, they argue. In other words, the United States is paying too much on world markets for its imports and its exports cost too little in terms of other currencies.

In principle Western Europe would be happy enough to return to fixed parities if only it were not to have to shoulder the entire burden of inflation by being obliged to support the dollar and purchase enormous amounts of US currency.

No solution is in sight. The United States has passed on to the entire Western world the economic consequences of the Vietnam war, and the result is an increasingly serious tendency towards economic warfare.

The controls Washington has felt obliged to impose may well soon be emulated by others. This could mean the end of capitalist free trade.

Erich Hauser
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 6 July 1973)

Unions cross swo[rds] with white-coll[ar] workers in Bruss[els]

DIE ZEIT

With the backing of its se[...] national trade union o[...] tions the European Trades [...] Confederation plans to show [...] Common Market's Council of Minis[ters in] Brussels who is the legitimate repr[esenta]tive of employees' interests with[in the] European Community.

Chaired by Britain's TUC Ge[neral] Secretary Vic Feather, the confed[eration] has unanimously decided to boyc[ott the] projected Common Market social [...] conference, which was to have been [...] Luxembourg at the end of June.

As a result the full-scale talks b[...] union, employer and government [...] men on social priorities for the E[...] Community have had to be [...] indefinitely by the Council of M[...]

The reason for the boycott [...] was the Council of Ministers' stip[...] that representatives of go-it-alone [...] staff unions and organisations atte[...] conference.

Twenty-four of the 35 seats allo[...] employees were to be shared out be[...] communist trade unions and [...] salary-earners, such as this co[...] *Deutsche Angestellten-Gewerkscha[ft]*

The orthodox trade union [...] objected not so much to the distr[...] of seats as to the heinous [...] extending an invitation to grou[ps ...] limit themselves to defending [...] privileges at the expense of so[...] with the workers."

The confederation, which only [...] into being early this year after [...] toing and froing, is determine[d ...] countenance at European welfare [...] ferences only organisations "[...] made serious attempts to join fo[...] a European basis and unite with[...] ranks various categories of em[...] persons."

Agreement could have been rea[...] the participation of the Federal Re[...] and Danish white-collar em[...] associations. "They could join [...] delegation," Theo Rasschaert, the c[...] eration's General Secretary, explains.

The basic reason why the trade [...] torpedoed the conference wa[s ...] invitation extended to the Interna[...] Confederation of Senior Salary-Ea[...] and Executives (CIC). The unions hav[...] intention of allowing them to ga[...] extra slice of the cake...

"The CIC," Rasschaert says, "is [...] a letter-box in Brussels." In reality [...] he claims, little more than a [...] organisation with a membersh[ip ...] 200,000 or so, two thirds of [...] executives and the remainder [...] employers, according to the estim[...] made by the European trade union [...] offices in Brussels.

On the Common Market's econo[mic] and social affairs committee the C[...] representatives belong to neither [...] employers' nor the employees' group.

On the standing employment com[...] tee they have been included among [...] employees' representatives on [...] tions received from the Council [...] Ministers. The confederation has lo[...] protest. "Let them join the employ[...] Rasschaert says.

Patrick Hillery of Ireland, the vi[...] sident of the European Comm[...] responsible for social policy, p[...] carry on drafting his progra[...] regardless whether or not the [...] unions submit their arguments.

(Die Zeit, 6 July 1[973])

INDUSTRY

Bankruptcies bedevil building industry

[P]olice in Nuremberg have issued a warrant for the arrest of Peter Otte, 35-year-old head of the Moplan [bui]lding organisation who has fled with [hi]s girlfriend and customers' money to [the] Bahamas.

[B]ailiffs in Homburg recently took [pos]session of the home and property of [Jo]sef Kun after his building empire went [in]to liquidation. They even took away his [we]dding and cuff-links.

Horst-Günther Hisam, the mayor of [...] on the island of Sylt and, until [rec]ently, the head of a building concern, [has] not been seen in his town hall since [th]e 275-foot block of flats he was [bu]ilding in Schleswig proved too much [fo]r his company's finances.

Eckehard Weiss, manager of the [...]ulandfinanz company in Hamburg, has [no]t been available for comment since a [ba]nkruptcy court inspected his books.

A Munich newspaper recently startled [its] readers with the report that another [lar]ge building concern was about to go [ba]nkrupt. The report started a wave of [spe]culation.

The property market in the Federal Republic has entered a new phase after [y]ears of rapid expansion. We are now [fa]ced with a paradoxical situation. Despite the unparalleled boom in building – the number of houses and flats under construction or in the planning stage has exceeded the one million mark for the first time – a wave of bankruptcies seems [t]o spreading through the building trade.

Sceptical observers are even drawing comparisons with the investment euphoria which met its end in 1970 and 1971. Then as now vast sections of the population had been encouraged to speculate. Kun's bankruptcy could [un]leash the same wave of no-confidence a[s] the collapse of Bernie Cornfeld's IOS.

Both banks and clients are alarmed. Persons and institutions entrusting money [t]o building societies are today demanding security. They are justified in taking this step.

The collapse of Kun's empire led to the collapse of the Düsseldorf-based Bau-Kre[di]t Bank which supported Kun's building company with credits amounting to 150 million Marks.

This was the worst case of its kind since the war and the public is alarmed. Two other banks went into liquidation earlier on this year and the Düsseldorf bank was owned by reputable banks and insurance companies and not by some fly-by-night financier.

The statement that more than eighty per cent of clients' claims could be met prompted surprise. "Banks and insurance companies must be in a difficult situation [if] they abandon one of their own subsidiaries in this manner," it was claimed at subsequent press conferences.

This case is not considered symptomatic of the difficulties facing the building industry. The banks controlling the Bau-Kredit Bank had to intervene last year and force Kun to set up a limited company. But nobody is prepared to say how long the present period of calm will [las]t.

Even the Federal Bank is expecting [oth]er banks to go bust. A number are rumoured to be in grave difficulties. They [are] nearly all special banks which have to obtain their funds of the money market. [...] financing these banks forces them [to fa]ll into the red considering the high interest rates charged today.

Günther Dürre, head of the Federal [B]ureau responsible for supervising the money market, warns banks against taking excessive risks where credits are concerned. These must always be considered in the light of their own capital.

The bureau's public warnings are always couched in euphemistic terms. "You can imagine the fuss if we were to state in public that a number of banks are a little shaky on their feet," one official commented. But the bureau has indicated that there is a risk of further liquidations.

One economic research institute has forecast that the building industry's position will suddenly change for the worse in the final quarter of this year when most of the projects currently being undertaken will have been completed and no other orders will be forthcoming.

"The situation is extremely grave," Heinz Flieger, the press spokesman of the Building Industry's Central Association, claims. He blames the restrictive policy of the government and Federal Bank and claims that a number of building firms are on the brink of ruin.

But it is not the firms responsible for the actual construction that are most seriously affected at present. Indeed, they are overworked because of the excessive number of houses and flats being built. They will not feel the pinch until much later.

It is the firms responsible for financing construction work and selling the finished product that are most seriously hit by high interest rates and the stagnating demand.

A number of firms in this branch of the industry are expected to collapse in the foreseeable future, according to Horst-Ludwig Riemer, North Rhine-Westphalia's Minister of Economic Affairs.

Even leading bankers appear sceptical in public. "The construction industry will decline more quickly than ever before," Ludwig Poullain, head of the Westdeutsche Landesbank, commented.

Thousand of homes are standing empty in the big cities. Prices have risen so much that few can afford them. In most cases the builders agreed to pay excessive prices for building land and even cuts of twenty to thirty per cent in the price of the houses have not attracted many more purchasers.

To avert the threat of bankruptcy, many builders are forced to resort to the oddest of solutions. One building company in Hanover has let an exclusive block of flats to the Blaupunktwerke, Hildesheim, to accommodate 350 Turkish workers.

Over 1,500 homes are waiting for purchasers or tenants on the Sachsenhäuser Berg estate in Frankfurt. The owners and builders now want to escape the consequences of their erroneous speculation by trying to obtain money from public funds.

They have asked housing departments to allocate council tenants to their empty luxury appartments. The city, they suggest, should pay them the difference between the normal council house rent and the rent they wish to charge.

"That is going a little too far," Ernst Zeyen of Frankfurt's housing department states. "Why should we subsidise businessmen who have ignored the market situation when making their investments?"

The house-owners and building societies who find it impossible to sell the expensive flats they have built can be compared with speculators who obtain credit to buy shares shortly before a slump. Suddenly there is a lack of demand. Their shares decline and they are forced to pay high rates of interest.

The cries for help that can now be heard within the building industry do not all come from the speculators who have obtained massive credits in the hope of making a quick profit.

Even the large "non-profit-making" concerns were involved in these shady dealings via subsidiaries whenever they thought they could make an easy Mark. They have built hundreds of holiday homes on the Baltic which they are now unable to sell.

"The building concerns are still living in the age of permanent and unlimited demand which we experienced after the end of the Second World War," Cäsar Meister, Hamburg's Housing Senator, comments.

The chronic housing shortage which lasted almost thirty years led to senseless expansion. Prices played no more than a subsidiary role until Bonn decided to combat the building boom.

Interest rates of eleven or twelve per cent for mortgages and the curtailment of the tax have made life – or even survival – difficult for many builders.

Finance Minister Helmut Schmidt said during the third reading of the 1973 Budget Act that the bankruptcy of a number of building firms provided no grounds for the government to re-examine its stability programme.

Government action had not prompted this dangerous trend, he commented, it had only accelerated it. The real cause is that the house-buying market is saturated.

This year for the first time there will be more homes (22.5 million) than households (22.4 million). Housing Minister Hans-Jochen Vogel states that we will still need 550,000 to 600,000 new homes a year.

But these calculations are based first and foremost on the expected inflow of foreign workers, on homes being lost in city centres due to redevelopment schemes and on the wish for a better quality of life on the part of millions of inhabitants who still live in intolerable conditions. The people involved might not however be prepared to pay the rents charged for these improved living standards.

Experts are convinced that the property market will have changed beyond recognition by the time Bonn removes its restrictions. A similar transformation was observed in the investment branch after the bankruptcies of 1970 and 1971.

This process of purification is welcomed by some sections of the building industry. Claus Winter of the Private House-Building Association believes that prices will be stabilised as a result.

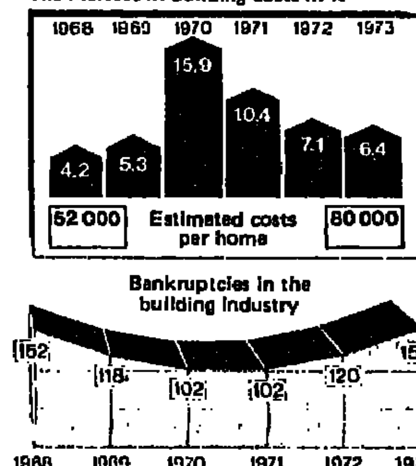
The only companies that need fear this trend are those whose methods of finance are rather dubious, Winter claims. He welcomes the fact that, before appearing in a bankruptcy court, companies of this type have to sell their land without deriving any profit from their speculation. "We have reliable information that in a number of cases land is being offered at the same prices as in the late sixties," he comments.

Jens Friedemann
(Die Zeit, 13 July 1973)

The building industry

Homes being built or for which approval has been given: 1968 694; 1969 739; 1970 853; 1971 981; 1972 1073

Homes already built in 1,000: 520; 500; 478; 555; 661



Building programme slows down

The Federal Republic has slipped almost unnoticed from its number one place in the European house-building stakes. The Federal Republic was well ahead of its current partners in the Common Market in the figures for 1960 when the remains of the bomb debris from the Second World War was cleared up.

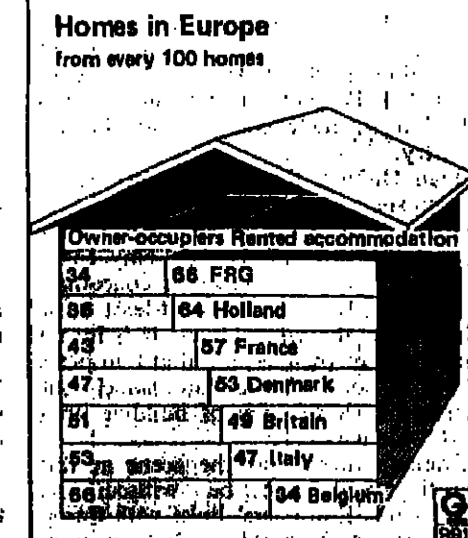
Statisticians in Brussels now list us in fourth place. The Netherlands tops the list with 10.4 new houses for every thousand inhabitants, followed by Denmark with 10.0 and France with 9.3.

The Federal Republic has slipped to fourth place with 8.5 new homes for every thousand inhabitants, followed by Britain with 6.5, Italy with 6.3, Eire with 5.2 and Belgium and Luxembourg, each with 4.4.

The picture was completely different ten years ago. The Federal Republic led with 9.4 new houses for every thousand inhabitants, followed by the Netherlands (7.3), France (6.9), Denmark (5.9), Britain and Italy (each with 5.8), Belgium (5.1), Luxembourg (3.1) and Eire (2.1).

One feature worth mentioning is that all European States apart from Belgium and the Federal Republic have increased their rate of house-building in absolute terms. Only Belgium and the Federal Republic register an obvious drop.

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 10 July 1973)



■ BUSINESS

Car hire firms battle for an expanding market

Consumer prices benefit from the current competition between car hire firms in the Federal Republic for a share of the market. The various operators are outdoing one another with special offers, going all out to court the favours of holidaymakers in particular.

SU Inter-rent, league leaders and Volkswagen subsidiary, offer a specially advantageous rate for cars from home to airport. The two leading US firms, Hertz and Avis, also have their sights set on holidaymakers. Motorists who would like to book a car in Spain, Italy or a similar tourist country can do so at special rates before leaving this country.

Avis, for instance, have cars ready for collection in 25 holiday centres around Europe. Car hire firms with international links also have special agreements with travel agents providing special terms for holidaymakers booking cars via their agents at their holiday destination.

This service has little to do with altruism. We have to make our presence felt in order to ensure that customers do not forget us, the trade explains.

Loyalty on the part of the customers really cannot be said to be a charcateristic of the car hire trade, and this is a factor from which hire-drivers in this country have so far derived nothing but benefit.

Hertz and Avis would never have started up in this country years ago had the one not feared that the other would have the market sewn up, and it is not surprising that the other two major US operators, National Car Rental and Thrifty Rent-A-Car, are now also trying to get a look-in on this country's market.

Last year Severin, one of the longest-established car hire firms in this country, announced that they had negotiated a tie-up with National. They would hear nothing of claims that this marked the beginnings of the take-over bid by the third-largest US operator, however.

In the meantime rumour has it that Severin have already been taken over, albeit not by National but by Godfrey Davis, National's British licensee.

Not only the British are showing interest in this country. Four months ago BMW and the Quandt concern parted company with their fifty-fifty share in the BMW care hire division after sustaining losses of several million Marks over a period of three years.

Quandt, who are, it will be remembered, majority shareholders in BMW, found a French customer for the rent A BMW operation, and the name-plate has now been changed to Europcars. Europcars is owned by Renault.

The French firm evidently aims to invest heavily abroad. In the course of a few months they have taken over car hire firms in five countries: Welti-Furrer Auto Rental of Switzerland, Autolux of Luxembourg, the Belgian subsidiary of Rent A BMW and a Dutch subsidiary in addition to their commitments in this country.

Jean Ordner, the French president of Europcars, outlines his strategy as follows: "We feel it to be unhealthy for an entire sector of the economy to be dominated by non-European concerns."

With this Hertz and Avis at least knew which way the wind blows. It is by no means out of the question that Europcars might at some future date launch out overseas with the aim of building up a worldwide network.

France's arrival on the scene in this country will not be without its difficulties. Europcars' links with Carop could prove a problem, for instance.

Shortly before taking over BMW's car hire division in this country Europcars bought a stake in Carop, the Dutch-based European car hire organisation.

Now the Carop operator in this country is Autohansa, an amalgam of independent firms. Trade rumours would have it that sooner or later there is bound to be a clash between Autohansa, fourth-ranker in this country with 27 million Marks in turnover last year, and Europcars, fifth-placed. Autohansa hold an 8.5-per-cent stake in Carop, Europcars a shareholding of more than 67 per cent.

Jean Ordner of Europcars, who is also president of Carop, sees no occasion for difficulties with Autohansa. The outcome should be apparent soon enough. Autohansa have commissioned an advertising campaign from a Frankfurt agency.

At the various head offices the boffins are certainly convinced that the future will be eventful. This is understandable enough. Every firm involved reckons that the car hire trade in this country will boom before long. It certainly has a long way to go before it can bear comparison with the United States.

In the United States there is one hire car for every 200 people; in Europe the ratio is 1 to 2,000. Statisticians would also have it that only five per cent of European motorists have ever hired a car.

The prospects are thus tempting for major international operators, who are willing to wait a few years before expecting their subsidiaries in this country to run at a profit.

Mind you, no one expects the market in this country ever to resemble the position in the United States. People here are still too conscious of car-ownership as a status-symbol, and no one harbours illusions of fresh custom resulting from higher insurance premiums and repair costs.

Car hire firms are not complaining of a decline in custom either, though they are agreed that costs are increasing faster than turnover. Laments of this kind are not entirely justified, however.

To a certain extent car hire firms have only themselves to blame that their profits are insufficient to warrant the payment of a dividend to shareholders. For years they offered one discount scheme after another as an incentive to the same customers.

The printed price lists applied only to occasional customers, and for the most part still do so. Regular customers – large firms, for instance – can be sure of substantial discounts.

Yet building up and maintaining a nationwide car hire organisation is by no means an inexpensive business. To gain a foothold in the market you need to be represented in all major cities and at all major airports.

(Photo: ...)

Airport offices cost a great deal. Airport authorities not only charge high rents, they also insist on a share in turnover. Operators consequently have to resort to all manner of stratagems in order to stay out of the red.

Large firms sign exclusive contracts with motor manufacturers, for instance. Hertz have an agreement with Ford that only Ford cars are shown in Hertz ads. The only exception to this rule is the fly and drive campaign in which Fords are shown at Hertz's request and Mercedes at Lufthansa's.

Avis has a similar agreement with Chrysler and National with General Motors. Costs are shared between the two.

Motor manufacturers have long been willing to buy back hire cars at special rates. Hire cars do not have a long life. They are generally replaced after six months in service.

Some operators try to squeeze a profit out of their resale agreements. Avis shares recently took a knocking when the news broke that a substantial chunk of turnover was attributable to sales of used cars rather than to car hire custom.

Despite their many ties manufacturers and car hire operators are not necessarily on the same side of the fence, however. In addition to stakes in the car hire trade (Volkswagen and Inter-Rent, Renault and Europcars) more and more motor manufacturers are showing interest in leasing.

The first manufacturers launched out into leasing some years ago. Leasing mainly differs from car hire in the length of the agreement. Car hire operators hire cars for days or weeks. Leasing agreements last for months or even years.

Already some 10,000 firms in this country choose to lease cars rather than buy them outright. Motor manufacturers have set up leasing firms of their own in order to profit from the trend.

Car hire firms are unable to branch out into leasing because the risk and capital costs are too high for them.

For the future it looks as though hire firms and subsidiaries of manufacturers are going to parcel out the market between them, specialist operators and the manufacturers' subsidiaries handling leasing.

Car hire in the traditional meaning of the term will be handled by a small number of major nationwide operators. Concentration will continue. At the beginning of the fifties there were some 5,000 car hire firms in this country. Only 2,000 are still in business.

Kai D. Eick...

Hannoversche Allgemeine, ...

One million flights

Last year this country's airports attained millionaire status between them, totalling more than one million movements, two per cent more than 1971. Commercial traffic accounted for 69 per cent of the total, and 77 per cent of this commercial traffic consisted of regular services.

According to the airports authorities, last year's overall passenger volume, including transit travellers, was four per cent up at more than 37 million, some 78 per cent of whom used regular services. For the first time ever the proportion of ... passengers exceeded fifty per cent.

Domestic air freight in 1972 was some 520,000 tons, an increase of ... per cent over the year before. Eighty-... per cent of the air freight flown from airports in this country was bound for a foreign destination and 292,000 tons were flown by cargo planes – 56.3 per cent of the total turnover.

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 7 June ...)

VW plans deal with China

According to Rudolf Leiding, the Chairman of the Board of Volkswagen, the company is at present involved in negotiations with the People's Republic of China for the construction of a car factory.

During the report to journalists in Sao Paulo on the investment programme of the Brazilian VW subsidiary he said that the Chinese were interested in a simple and serviceable car. Last year the Mexican VW subsidiary sent several prototypes of the 181 "Safari", a jeep type of vehicle which is only built in Mexico to Peking.

Herr Leiding stated at the most recent press conference on Volkswagen trading figures in Wolfsburg that the so-called "Muli", a special kind of transporter, should sell well in developing countries and probably in China as well.

He said that the company planned to invest 210 million dollars in all in the Brazilian plant in 1973/74 and that the company planned to export Volkswagen products to a total value of forty million dollars a year in the next ten years. The initial aim is the manufacture of 500 motors and gear-boxes per day in the Federal Republic. And among the company's recent achievements is the expansion of the Sao Bernardo do Campo plant to produce 2,500 vehicles a day.

A small VW delivery van with electric motor was put on show by Siemens in Erlangen recently. It was developed jointly by VW and Siemens' Berlin plant. The new electric vehicle is specially designed for delivery duties in towns. According to a Siemens spokesman it can also be used for council jobs such as garbage disposal and street cleaning.

The motor of the new vehicle delivers up to 32 kilowatts, which corresponds to about 44 horsepower. This gives it a speed of 75 km/h and an ability to climb gradients up to eighteen per cent.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 4 June 1973)

■ PEOPLE

Philosopher Max Horkheimer dies in Frankfurt

Max Horkheimer, the last surviving founder of the Frankfurt school of philosophy, has died at the age of 78. He survived his friend and colleague Theodor W. Adorno by only four years.

Horkheimer's death marks the end of an important era of German philosophy and social study which was not devoted merely to the positivistic investigation of existing phenomena.

It is important to follow the course of a critically-interpreted enlightenment which aimed to rid Mankind of fear and install it as master, as both Horkheimer and Adorno claimed in their joint work *Dialectics of Enlightenment*.

This book states in the shortest imaginable form the scientific and humanitarian programme to which the two men felt committed since resuming their work at Frankfurt University's department of social research.

It is a programme that must not be abandoned in an age when science and technology is spreading to every corner of public and private life even though the actual strength of the Frankfurt School – which was based on the effectivity of this critical theory – began to fade soon after Adorno's death.

It is important to follow the course of Horkheimer's life. He was born on 14 February 1895, graduated from Frankfurt University in 1922 and was appointed professor of social philosophy in 1930 after brief spells in Munich and Freiburg.

He emigrated to the United States and was appointed director of New York's Institute of Social Research in 1943. After returning to Germany at the end of the Second World War he was once again appointed head of the Institute of Social Research in Frankfurt.

Horkheimer's most important work before he met Adorno was his dissertation on Kant's critique of Judgement, published in 1925. But Horkheimer's name, and Adorno's too, will always be linked first and foremost with *Dialectics of Enlightenment*.

Though the work was published by Querido, Amsterdam, in 1947, the two philosophers wrote it during their exile in America at a time when the end of the Hitler regime was in sight.

Both Horkheimer and Adorno realised at the time that the only sensible place to continue their work was in Germany. The programme on which they based their activities appears in its essential form in the book they wrote together.



Max Horkheimer

"No outsider will find it easy to imagine the extent to which we are both responsible for every single sentence," they stated. "We dictated large sections together. The tension between the two intellectual temperaments which merge in the book forms its vital element."

But the question of who wrote what diminishes to insignificance compared to the basic tenor of the book which determined an important section of this country's political and intellectual history.

It was this book that formed the intellectual basis for the student movement that is only beginning to die down today. It instituted a bloodless revolution whose outcome can still not be gauged. It prompted a peaceful process of change which, though overrated at first, is certainly underrated at present.

What were the two philosophers' main aims in *Dialectics of Enlightenment*?

In the foreword Horkheimer and Adorno point to the main difficulty confronting them – the self-destruction of the enlightenment which began so optimistically with the well-known thesis by Kant.

But they remained unshaken in their basic belief that social freedom cannot be divided from a philosophy of enlightenment. Scientific positivism stresses however that this position resulting from the enlightenment contains the seeds of a retrogressive tendency.

Scientific progress which refuses to recognise humanitarian limits and does not feel itself committed to accept the ethical norms of conduct contains the seeds of destruction for the original enlightenment.

In the belief that the cognisant intellect remains all to receptive to falsity and superstition if it is not restricted to the statement of fact and calculation of probability, the current education system

Continued on page 11

Otto Klemperer — one of the Titans of music

Otto Klemperer, one of the most important conductors of our times, died during his sleep at his Zurich home on 7 July. He was 88. Klemperer, who retired only two years ago, was the last of the great German conductors born in the 1880s.

Klemperer was born on 14 May 1885 and was five years younger than Schricht, one year older than Furtwängler and three years older than Knappertsbusch. He was similar to none to them, his style and career were truly incomparable.

Otto Klemperer has assumed the dimensions of a mythical figure dominating conducting today. He did not exude the mellow wisdom of old age but was aware, controversial and uncompromising to the very end.

Meeting Klemperer was always an event. He also demanded the utmost of all his musicians, not least himself, despite the fact that he suffered from a brain tumour ever since 1939.

Whenever he underwent the strain of making gramophone recordings in his old age – a long and tedious business – whenever he climbed, with difficulty, on to the rostrum or conducted from his wheelchair, you could experience the triumph of headstrong will, the victory of mind over matter.

Once a member of the avant garde who used to frighten the traditionalists, he advanced to a guardian of tradition in his old age. Towards the end he was only moved by works with a lasting quality – Beethoven, Mozart, Mahler and Wagner. Only illness prevented him from appearing in Bayreuth.

But he still retained his old fire which in his youth had been interpreted as fanatically intellectual, as the glow emanating from his brain. Klemperer did not become an expressionist until late in life.

The newly-gained warmth of his music did not degenerate into pure sentimentality but harmonised with his precision and clarity. Gustav Mahler pointed the way to this ideal and Klemperer contributed a good deal to the current Mahler revival by recording his symphonies.

Born in Breslau, Klemperer's early career took him to Prague, Hamburg, Strasbourg, Cologne, Wiesbaden and Berlin where his name was linked with a musical era that has become historic.

After being appointed head of the Kroll Opera in 1927, Klemperer shocked audiences out of their lethargy by adopting the fashionable policy of fighting tradition.

He engaged theatre directors such as Fehling and Gründgens to produce the operas, he shocked listeners with new works by Hindemith, Stravinsky, Schönberg and Krenek. Klemperer also used the opera stage to test the ideas of the Bauhaus and produce a theatre uncharged for revolution.

This bold intermezzo at the Kroll Opera in Berlin ended during the economic slump and soon afterwards Hitler forced Klemperer into emigration as a "non-Aryan". In America he was grounded, though not broken, by illness.

Returning to Europe after the Second World War, he was head of the Budapest opera house for a short period and then appeared at all the great cities of music.

Among the events that will live on in the memory of the musical world are his *Fidelio* at Covent Garden, his *Carmen* in Berlin, his Beethoven cycles at the Vienna Festival and in other great musical centres

Otto Klemperer

(Photo: ...)

and his uncompromisingly faithful recordings of Classical and Romantic operas and symphonic works.

Klemperer was a holder of the pour le mérite for the arts and sciences and was also awarded the Lower Saxony Art Prize. He made a great contribution towards the international recognition of German music.

Otto Klemperer has gone into history as one of the great conductors of this century, as a one time pioneer of modern music and latterly as a propagandist of Classical works.

Kurt Honolka

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 9 July 1973)

Handke awarded Georg Büchner Prize

Peter Handke caused a considerable furore when his *Publikumsbeschimpfung* (Insult the Public) was first produced at the Frankfurt "Experimenta". The production produced a veritable cataract of abuse and disapproval.

Seven years later things have changed. The man who has insulted the public considerably but has in the meantime become the darling of the bestseller brigade has been awarded the highest literary honour this country has to offer, the Georg Büchner Prize, that carries with it a monetary award of 10,000 Marks.

This honour to a young author, Handke is only 31, has come at just the right time. Since the publication of his short stories *Wunschloses Unglück* (Unrepined Calamity) last autumn there has been little heard from Handke. The award of the Georg Büchner Prize will once more bring him to the public's attention.

It has to be said for him that the prose work he produced just before *Wunschloses Unglück*, *Der kurze Brief zum langen Abschied* (The short letter for a long farewell) was perhaps the best thing he has written so far, although not his most popular work.

If the careers of previous Büchner Prize winners are anything to go by Handke, born in Graz, has a glorious future in front of him. The Prize has been awarded to his fellow Austrians Bachmann, Bernhard and Canetti as well as writers Benn, Bessel, Kaschnitz, Krolow, Kästner, Koeppen, Heissenbüttel, Golo Mann, Grass, Johnson, Enzensberger, Kreuder, Hildesheimer and Böll – all authors who have done much for post-war German literature.

Awarding the Georg Büchner Prize to Peter Handke, who claims that he lives in an ivory tower, may seem paradoxical at first, but basically it is not.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 26 June 1973)

■ CINEMA

Schaaf's third film *Traumstadt*

Johannes Schaaf is shooting his third film, the others are *Tätowierung* and *Trotta*, in Krumlov, Budweis, Prague and Karlovy Vary. It is entitled *Traumstadt* (Dream City). Scenes will also be shot on location in Afghanistan and Munich. The film will cost two million Marks and will take ten weeks to make.

Schaaf's screenplay from the novel *Die andere Seite* (The Other Side) by the Austrian painter and poet Alfred Kubin was awarded a Federal prize.

From this fantastic 1908 book, and Kubin himself called it that, Schaaf plans to make an equally fantastic film in 1973. There can be no doubt that this is the most ambitious production to be undertaken in this country this year.

The theme concerns the rise and fall of a small dream State deep in Asia. It also deals with the yearning men have to lose themselves and live on a paradise island leaving everything behind them, memories of the war and the Third Reich, the pressure and cares of everyday life, anxiety and the whole deadweight of our civilisation.

The main character in the film, 40-year-old Florian Sand, a painter from Munich longingly says: "Let's just go. Go out of the door, get in a plane and fly anywhere, India, Nepal or Bali."

The dream city to which Florian goes, is a European-like city State with mediaeval charm at the foot of the Himalayas. Every citizen there has the right to develop his individuality as he will without let or hindrance. Every whim is met, every request acceeded to, every need satisfied. Total respect for the individuality of one's neighbour is expected.

Schaaf said: "*Traumstadt* deals with an imaginary, fictional community to suit Florian and his needs. The film has a lot to do with dreams, with fantasy. It deals with Man's constant search for freedom. It does not matter if a person goes to Ceylon or Teneriffe – it is all the same. There are no total means of finding freedom from human needs – and that perhaps is the moral of this film."

Asta Nielson in the title role and Hans Junkermann as Polonius in a 1920 production of *Hamlet*

(Photo: Ilse Buhs)

He continued: "The world is going to pieces because people do not know how to utilise fully what they have, because everything is handed down, everything is acquired, no matter where people live."

He added: "I don't believe there is a state of things in which people can be truly happy."

Schaaf did not give any weight to the view that in comparison with *Tätowierung* and *Trotta* he was moving more and more away from reality. He said: "On the contrary I am coming closer and closer to the production of reality. I want to create reality clearly using fantastic elements. The reality that one would rather have has more value than just reality. The world exists from this. True reality is idiotic. The reality that a person imagines is droll."

Is Johannes Schaaf's new film that enunciates the unchangeability of mankind not then in some way related to the Jules Verne story?

Schaaf commented: "I depict the total experience of one life. Turning films into psychological studies bores me. Although people in my film can do what they like people always do the same as they have always done."

For the part of Florian, Schaaf has Signed up the Swedish actor Per Oscarsson. Schaaf said: "I had difficulty casting the part because I continuously only saw myself. I wanted an actor who was capable of playing a part passively and being convincing."

Other main parts are played by Rosemarie Fendel, Alexander May, Heinrich Schweiger, Eva Maria Meinecke, Herbert Bötticher, American Louis Waldon and the Italien actress Olympia. Gerard Vandenberg is in charge of photography.

How can, how should *Traumstadt* communicate with the audience? Is the theme individual or universal? Schaaf said: "I don't hold much for art being a means of bringing about change. And films are not meant to give incentive to thinking. But films can confirm a feeling for life and can excite fantasy."

Hans-Jürgen Weber

(Kieler Nachrichten, 30 June 1973)

Continued from page 10

has prepared the withered foundations eager to accept falsity and superstition, Horkheimer and Adorno wrote.

This is where the real dialectics of enlightenment lies. The work, still recognised as important today, explores the various aspects of this phenomenon, culminating in the problem of Anti-Semitism.

Though this work is too little known in this country, it is an important contribution to philosophy which should ensure Max Horkheimer an important position in science and politics for some time to come.

Herbert Albrecht

(Bremer Nachrichten, 11 July 1973)

ZDF projects for Berlin exhibition

During the Second International Broadcasting Exhibition to be held in Berlin from 31 August to 9 September, the ZDF, this country's second television service, plans to organise a number of projects for the general public.

A programme entitled "Fernseh-Illustrierte" will be broadcast nationwide for one hour every day and for the first time there will be cooperation between various editorial staffs in order to find new television forms.

A "telethequе" will be set up to give visitors to the exhibition precise information about ZDF's new programme schedules starting on 1 October.

The public will also be able to discuss programmes and other questions with the director-general, programme directors and editors-in-chief who will all be prepared to answer queries about their duties in the ZDF.

(Die Welt, 16 June 1973)

Asta Nielsen exhibition in Berlin

Most of her films are forgotten but in times like ours, doting on nostalgia and taking up all kinds of trivial art her work can only give a push to historical film seminars. But the Danish actress of silent films Asta Nielsen is herself not forgotten and has for a long time been a legend.

This legend is to be brought to life in an exhibition to be staged by the Stiftung Deutsche Kinematik in cooperation with the Danish film museum for the Berlin Film Festival. The exhibition of stills, film posters, theatre tickets, reviews and other material is to be staged in the West Berlin art academy.

The exhibition will cover the period from *Abgrunden* made in 1910 to *Reigen* made in 1920 and *Erdgeist* directed by Leopold Jessner, *Freudlose Gasse*, directed by G.W. Pabst in 1925 and Nielsen's last film made in 1932 *Unmögliche Liebe*. Then the great days of the silent film were over and so were the days of Asta Nielsen.

What was the secret of her internationally hypnotic effect on the people who went to see her films? She was in no way what one would call a beautiful woman but she could make gestures of unsurpassable eloquence and had a face capable of conveying every kind of emotion.

Jessner, who directed *Erdgeist* said: "A single Nielsen tear, just a slight puckering of her mouth was more effective than most gesticulations of pain."

In his history of the film idol Enno Patalas wrote: "Nielsen portrayed the charm of the forbidden, the danger emanating from the unknown, the glamour of the world of the demimondaine. She also portrayed the attractions of lawlessness, the joys and misery of passion. Calamity enveloped her entirely. Her mouth and eyes appeared to be too large and denoted a considerable sensitivity."

Nielsen attributed her success to the fact that she identified completely with her roles. She said: "I want to be the parts I play completely, so completely that I take on the external characteristics as well. With that I include all the subsidiary, small attributes, for they are often more significant than the more prominent qualities."

At home she polished up her role so that when it came to actually shooting she had turned a cliché character into a person of real flesh and blood.

Hellmut Kotschenreuther

(Kieler Nachrichten, 30 June 1973)

New film magazine launched

To bring out a film magazine that only deals with the film requires a lot of courage. One has only to recall previous short-lived publications such as *Filmstudio*, *Evangelischer Filmbeobachter* and *Film* to realise how risky such a venture can be.

On the other hand it should not be overlooked that there is a growing interest in the film and in this country this has meant an increase in film literature. Alongside the old films, ruined by mismanagement, a "second film world" has grown up with independent productions, using new methods of distribution appealing to a new public.

This new attempt in the film world has until now not had a public forum. This gap is to be filled by a new monthly magazine that has already appeared in three issues.

The magazine is called *Kino*, published in Berlin costing 2.50 Marks per issue, two marks for a subscription, published by Kraft Wetzel, who together with Ekkehard Pluta and Gottfried Weimann will edit the text.

The magazine carries the slogan "Criticism for film fans" and hopes to attract readers who "see in the independently produced films an alternative to commercial productions."

The editorial difficulties expected were spelt out in an epilogue included in the first issue. The editors wrote: "We want to report on developments and trends in the international film industry without in any way passing judgments of our own. We shall emphasise the work of young film-makers particularly young German film-makers. We shall introduce our readers to genres and directors who have been neglected. It is also hoped to give insights into film history and film theory. We do not intend to include in the magazine articles dealing with the cultural significance of the film but do intend to write about marketing problems. We shall support, although not uncritically, all attempts to distribute art films and introduce neglected productions to a wider audience. On the other hand we shall investigate the activities of the present monopolistic cinema chains."

It all sounds very wonderful, typically so of new ventures of this sort, but one recommends the editors to set their sights lower because there is bound to be a discrepancy between wish and realisation, claims and what happens in practice in such a comprehensive programme.

Judging from the three issues that have already appeared it is easier to formulate intentions than to introduce solutions. For example the programmes announced for independent cinemas and film clubs were very skimpy and did not help very much. There were some even greater gaps in the choice of films for review particularly in the important 16mm group.

More objections could be presented, for instance the rather poor appearance of the magazine, but this was probably due to the lack of finances.

But there are at the moment good opportunities for a film magazine that deals with the 'independent' cinema. *Kino* should fill the gap. After only three issues it is too early to decide if the editors are in earnest about their task or are just filled with a lot of hot air. It is true that it is only fair to review a magazine after five to seven numbers have appeared – that is an old basic law.

Walter Schobert

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 30 June 1973)

■ EDUCATION

Reading matter for the children of foreign workers examined

Four volumes with inviting pictures on their front covers and colour photographs inside formed the main attraction at the Children's Literature Association's fourth meeting with the press in Würzburg.

Journalists, authors, publishers, librarians, representatives of public bodies and other experts on children's books met in the glowing heat of the *Residenz* in Würzburg to discuss the controversial subject of literature for the children of foreign workers.

The four volumes on which they focussed their attention are the first concrete results of years of courageous pioneering work on the part of publishers. Two columns appear on every page. The left-hand column is the foreign-language text while the right-hand column is the German-language equivalent.

Katharina Baudach of the Verlag Jugend und Volk, Munich, is the first publisher to have undertaken the risk of offering the children of foreign workers short stories in their mother tongue and based on their immediate environment and, by providing a German translation, giving them an opportunity of improving their German vocabulary in a painless way.

The short stories deal with the difficulties of settling into a new environment, with major and minor disappointments and with the pleasure felt as integration proceeds.

The stories were written by authors who were well acquainted with the milieu in which the children grow up. It was not easy to find suitable writers and it was even more difficult to find competent translators, especially as the division of the Southern European countries into different dialects and linguistic areas posed further problems. Translators were always faced with the question of what dialect and what language to use.

The books each cost five Marks and appear in Turkish, Greek, Italian, Yugoslav and Spanish editions. They could not be sold through the normal channels as few foreign workers ever go into a bookshop.

Distribution could have been made easier if the department stores and station bookstalls had cooperated – but they declined. Charity organisations and the ministries of education stepped into the breech. Public libraries too were glad to stock the books.

The criticism and suggestions for improvement expected did not materialise. Despite everything the Italian-German edition was sold out almost immediately and the sales figures for the other editions have led to further plans in this direction.

New volumes, costing six Marks instead of five, are now in preparation. Greek and Turkish poetry for instance will appear in the original and German editions will then show our children that their foreign classmates' homelands also have a respectable literary past of their own.

Discussions at the conference centred on the linguistic difficulties faced by the eight hundred thousand or so foreign children registered as resident in the Federal Republic.

Herr Heyden of the Ministry of Labour spoke of measures planned to cut the flood of foreign labour into the country. Though the sum employers are charged for the provision of every foreign worker is to be drastically increased, it is doubtful whether this will be spent on cultural purposes.

The people who benefit from the provision of foreign labour – that is the employers – must be forced to provide extra money if foreigners living in this country are to be freed from their cultural ghettos.

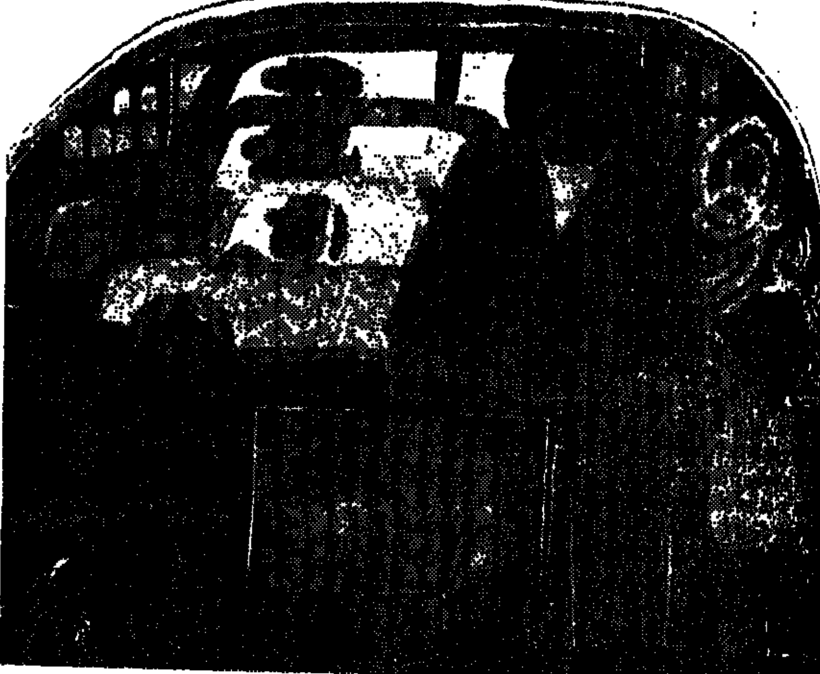
The International Youth Library, Munich, started a questionnaire campaign to find out which firms sponsored cultural schemes for their foreign workers. Only 72 of the 198 questionnaires were returned and these revealed only 35 firms provided books and magazines for their foreign workers.

Thanks to competent helpers abroad and members of staff who could speak the language in question, Walter Scherf, head of the International Youth Library, was able to send libraries a list of foreign children's books that could be recommended.

In his extremely informative talk about children's books in Southern Europe, which amounted to a concise literary history, Scherf managed to give conferees some impression of the variety of dialects and literatures in this region. Spain has four major dialects, Greece two and Yugoslavia has five written languages each producing its own literature.

Frankfurt City Library has made good use of Scherf's proposals, especially as the city councillors in a unique display of compassion decided to approve a thirty thousand Marks bill for the provision of foreign children's literature.

The campaign organised to attract readers was soon abandoned. Eight hundred foreign children come to the library regularly and borrow some 1,100 books a month. Fifteen per cent of the foreign children attending schools in Frankfurt are thus using the libraries.



An illustration from the book for children entitled *Sandro fährt zu seinem Va[ter]* published by Verlag Jugend und Volk, Munich

Dr Vogt, head of the City Library, justifiably believes that libraries represent an appropriate forum for cultural schemes held in conjunction with adult education centres and outside organisations.

Broadcasting too could contribute more to cultural education. Bavarian Radio caters for foreign workers twice a week, explaining to them the complicated terms they will encounter in their dealings with the authorities. But broadcasting has largely given up the adults and turns instead to their children.

José Moll Marques, a Spaniard, proposed that children's literature should not merely be recommended but should instead become a subject of conversation between parents and children and thus form a connecting intellectual link.

The proposal is extremely sensible. Foreign children can often speak better German than their parents and life in a strange country often forces them into roles than can endanger family p[...]. They often have to act as advisers to [...] parents and should therefore be taught [...] understand the situation their elders [...] in.

The publishers of children's books [...] attended the conference decided to set [...] a body to encourage the publication [...] literature for the children of foreign workers as they felt there was a need f[or] an organisation of this type.

This step could be a good sign for [...] future as the publishers are evide[ntly] more concerned about the welfare [of] foreign children than about captu[ring] another corner of the market.

It can only be hoped that [...] overburdened State will be helped [...] lar ventures by private initiatives [...] part of industrialists. These projects [...] help guard against the worst [...] conditions. The children would ben[efit] and it would also help society as a wh[ole].

Gerda Neuma[nn]

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 7 July 1[973])

TV programme *Sesame Street* fares well in suitability survey

The criticisms levelled at *Sesame Street* the American television series for children of a pre-school age, are beginning to die down. Apart from Munich, even the stations that were once hesitant about the programme have now included it in their schedules.

The critics who are still attacking the series – with more conjecture than well-founded fact – are now faced with the preliminary findings of a scientific survey announced to television personnel, educationalists and journalists attending a

special meeting at the Hans Bredow Institute for Radio and Television in Hamburg.

These preliminary findings can only provide a general picture at present but a number of extremely interesting details have been uncovered. The survey was not however concerned first and foremost with the disputed series.

Most attention was paid to the role that television can play in the educational sector. *Sesame Street* is only treated as an example of what television can contribute to pre-school education.

At first the basic material was processed. A representative survey was conducted in March among some 960 families with children of between three and ten about the programmes they watched, the benefits they derived from these programmes and what they thought of them.

Sesame Street was quite popular. Seventy-two per cent of the parents stated that their children watched the series, compared with 91 per cent for *Porky Pig*, 88 per cent for Laurel and Hardy and 81 per cent for *Lassie*.

Asked what they thought of the educational value of these series, the parents, belonging to all social levels, put *Sesame Street* top of the list. Sixty-six per cent described it as particularly suitable for children.

It is interesting to hear what the children themselves think of the various elements making up the programme (or rather what parents claim their children think about them). Ernie and Bert, the Monster and Kermit the Frog came top of the popularity stakes with 85 per cent. The cartoons appearing from time to time came bottom.

Have the viewers any objections? Half of those asked had no criticisms to make, sixty per cent describe *Sesame Street* as their favourite television programme. Only one per cent displayed little or no interest in the series. To use Professor Scheuch's categories, 82 per cent of the lower social levels found the programme good compared with only 66 per cent of the upper levels.

Researchers conducting a second s[urvey] held in conjunction with the progr[amme] interviewed parents, nursery-school tea[ch]ers and primary school teachers about t[he] educational benefit derived from t[he] series.

The parents interviewed turned [out to] be better informed than the teache[rs]. Some nineteen per cent of the teach[ers] had never seen *Sesame Street*, ten p[er] cent of teachers do not own a televi[sion] and five per cent disapprove of t[he] medium altogether.

According to the survey, half of [the] teachers have never been trained to u[se] audio-visual equipment. The surv[ey] therefore claims that educationalis[ts] often have an aversion against t[he] medium of television.

But those teachers who cooperated in the survey welcomed *Sesame Street* as a good preparation for formal education, described the series as a programme with compensatory character and stated that they learned things from the programme that they could incorporate in their teaching. The teachers were almost unanimous about the benefit the programme had on pre-school education.

The main criticisms were directed against the rapid tempo of the programme, the tendency to show too many things at one time and the unintended side effect that children often compared their teachers unfavourably with the series.

The group was asked whether they saw a chance of parents deriving educational benefit from the programme with the result that they would seize upon the methods stimulated by the series and use them on their children. Eighty per cent of

Continued on page 14

■ SCIENCE

Nobel Prize-winners for physics meet at Lindau

Nobel Prize-winners for Physics met in Lindau this year for the eighth time. Some four hundred students from home and abroad also attended, giving the Lindau conference its unmistakeable atmosphere as a place of contact between the generations.

In his welcoming speech Horst Ehmke, Minister for Research a d Technology, stressed that technological development should not depend solely on what was technically feasible. Its effects on the human race and the actual technological requirements must also be borne in mind.

An early warning system should be set up to spotlight social conflicts and grievances so that countermeasures may be taken as early as possible. The social sciences are not yet in a position to carry out these far-reaching duties.

Horst Ehmke, believes that it is one of his duties to allocate the social sciences a place in future large-scale technological projects.

Professor Dennis Gabor of London stated that these projects should not deal merely with luxuries like flights to the moon. It was more important, he said, to find solutions to the threatening energy crisis.

Energy has been cheap up to now and has therefore been wasted irresponsibly, Professor Gabor stated. Consumption of energy and raw materials has increased by some five per cent every year since the end of the Second World War.

The first signs of a fuel and energy crisis can now be witnessed in the highly industrialised nations, especially in the United States which can no longer satisfy its energy requirements from its own sources.

We must therefore develop technologies which will open up new sources of energy. Processes have already been developed to extract oil from sand or shale. Atomic energy should be obtained from breeder reactors which operate fifty times more economically than fuel reactors.

The practically inexhaustible supply of uranium in the oceans could end the energy shortage. It is not yet too late to take this course. But no more time must be wasted if we wish to avert a world energy crisis. We must devote our full attention to problems that are vital for the continued existence of our industrial civilisation.

Professor Leon N. Cooper of Providence turned to biochemistry in his report to the congress. He outlined the way that memory and learning might be organised in the central nervous system.

Ten milliard nerve cells in our brain are interconnected in complicated fashion. Signals are transmitted from outside and are communicated to the synapses. External events are depicted in the nerve cells and appear to be stored in some way in the system as a whole.

Human memory does not function like a machine. It can make mistakes and the information cannot be gained from a specified source. Memory is not localised. The network of nerves changes according to experiences gained. Every individual processes the impressions gained from the world around him in his own peculiar way and is therefore unique.

Professor P.A.M. Dirac of Tallahassee turned to theoretical physics in his lecture on new ideas of space and time. These concepts are based on Einstein's theory of relativity which claims that physical space is curved. This provides a satisfactory explanation of the field of gravity and a basis for the interpretation of all physical phenomena.

It has lately been suggested that this view should perhaps be changed. But it is still a question of hypotheses based on the idea that the gravitational constants are subject to change despite what Einstein said.

Exact observation of the planets, such as those Shapiro conducted with the aid of radar measurements in 1968, should confirm or refute this view in the course of the next few years. Perhaps this will also lead to the satisfactory solution of many physical problems.

Democrites believed that the atom (Greek for indivisible) was the only real substance. It was discovered much later that they are not indivisible but consist of a nucleus and electrons. The atomic nucleus is divided in its turn into neutrons and protons.

Physicists now wish to study the structure of the pronton. Research has proved extremely complex, Professor Cheng Ning Yang of New York stated. Experiments conducted during the course of the last few years have revealed a number of details about its structure. These details are evidently important for future attempts to provide a definition of the structure of elementary particles.

Professor Robert Hofstadter of Stanford spoke of experiments being conducted on the new giant sodium iodide crystals to measure the energy of gamma rays, electrons and positrons.

These experiments, which are now approaching a stage where the first measurements can be taken, are meant to provide proof that quantum electrodynamics is valid for the highest burst of energy and the tiniest distances.

All the physical advances described in the speeches given to the congress would not have been possible without the work of Max Planck.

The congress closed with a talk by Professor Isidor I. Rabi of New York on science as a connecting link between nations. The universality of the arts and sciences was once able to overcome all political boundaries. It was only with the advent of modern nationalism that many scientists found it difficult to travel abroad to congresses.

The foundation of organisations like the European Organisation for Nuclear Research (CERN) in Geneva is an important step as it could counteract these tendencies. Various nations support this work and help maintain the installation. Scientists from a number of countries are allowed to travel there as a result.

Another important body of this type is the NATO science committee which has contributed to the reconstruction of European science and the improvement of its standards by organising grant schemes and summer courses to allow scientists to make contact with one another. As well as backing science, schemes of this type also strengthen international ties.

Dr H. Woltereck

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 10 July 1973)

OUR WORLD

'Foster mothers for a day' project to be initiated

A project for 'foster mothers by the day' is to be started in the Federal Republic for the children of working women. Twenty-five women in various cities and towns in this country are to take part in the pilot project for three years in the hope that their experiences will help build up a national service.

It is proposed by the Family Affairs Ministry that women should during the day look after two, at the most three, children and take care of them as if they were part of their own family.

The pilot groups are to be set up so that children can in their first three formative years be brought up in a family atmosphere. Twelve sociologists, psychologists and lawyers are cooperating with the pilot group.

Lawyer Dr Helga Stödter, together with the association for mothers who are bringing up their children without the aid of a husband, has pressed for this pilot project. She said: "Any normal family atmosphere is better for a child than a day-nursery. In any event it is quite obvious that this arrangement is better

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

than a long stay in a home which is often physically and psychologically damaging to a child."

The first 'foster mothers for a day' will be paid at official rates of pay and they have been chosen because of their professional or educational qualifications.

Teachers and children's nurses, among the first group in the project, will later be joined by simple mothers who are interested in the problems of bringing up children and who during their period of pregnancy are prepared to act as foster mothers in this way.

Most of the cases in the pilot project will involve children of unmarried mothers, widows and women who work. A spokesman for the Family Affairs Ministry said: "In no way is this project intended to prompt women to consider taking on jobs outside the home."

The project has received approval from the SPD and the FDP and it has been included in party political programmes, although it is not considered the ideal solution to the problem of caring for small children, because they are not able to develop a firm personal relationship with those who look after them.

It is considered, however, better than a nursery or a children's home. It is expected that for a half year the project will cost the Ministry 1.2 million Marks.

It has not yet been decided in which cities and towns the project will be put into operation although seventy local authorities have already applied to be included.

If a 'profession' of 'foster mother for a day' is to be created it is likely that the mothers of the children who are being cared for will, if possible, contribute towards the salary of the foster mother.

The foster mothers will have official status and be covered for sickness and pension.

Marianne Quoirin

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 7 July 1973)

EEC hopes for the future examined

A survey has been carried out by the Common Market Commission to discover what are the most powerful hopes and expectations of families living in the European Economic Community. Was the greatest concern people have from Flensburg to Palermo a question of salary, pay, of money? Or was it true that there were no common aims in life that united people north, east, south and west in Europe?

A 14-item questionnaire was produced and a major survey undertaken.

The results were surprising.

The major concern of people in Italy, France, the Federal Republic and the Benelux countries (the new members of the Common Market were not included in the survey) was concern for a pension when they were old, and this was made particularly acute because of the current wave of inflation that is bedevilling European economies.

It was interesting to note that maintenance of law and order came in second place in the Federal Republic list. In Belgium, Italy and France this item did not appear until fifth place and in Luxembourg and Holland it was sixth.

Job security was third in the Federal Republic, France and Holland and in fourth place among the others.

Another interesting fact was that increased pay came after social welfare and democratic requirements. These items came tenth in the Federal Republic, in France and Belgium at the eighth place, in Italy at the ninth place, in Luxembourg at the eleventh position and in Holland at the very end of the list.

There is perhaps quite a lot to be learned from the attitudes those asked had towards development aid. Holland put the need for development aid to underdeveloped countries eighth on the list, this country had it at the thirteenth position.

(Neue Hannoversche, 5 July 1973)

Careful Americans

Hotels in this country have repo[rted a] decline in the number of to[urists] from America which is attributed to [a] considerable fall in the Mark[-dollar] exchange rate. Americans who ha[ve] come to Europe on business [are] economising by ordering one whisky [or] martini less than they normally would.

A survey conducted by the *dpa* [news] agency shows that only in Berlin ha[s] there been an increase in the number [of] American tourists. This survey sho[ws] that in most of the large cities in [this] country first-class hotels, where [the] management usually stays, have perce[ived] little effect of the weak dollar.

The Federal Republic section of [the] International Hotel Association [has] sent a request to the Bonn governme[nt to] take measures to ensure that the h[otel] industry was not too severely affected [by] the confused currency situation.

The IHA chairman proposed, after [a] meeting in Frankfurt, that the gov[ern]ment should make available a "To[urist] Mark" and that, because of the sharp [rise] in the price of petrol, petrol co[upons] should be issued to tourists from a[broad] so that they could buy cheap p[etrol]. Similar measures have been introdu[ced in] other countries, Italy for instance.

Some large hotels, such as som[e in] Nuremberg, have suspended [their] advertising in America because it is [not] expected to be very effective. F[rom] Stuttgart there were comments o[f a] "noticeable" decline in the number [of] tourists from America and busines[smen] visiting the city were being more ca[reful] with their money.

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 6 July 1973)

Medical identity cards

Hesse is the first state in the Fed[eral] Republic to issue 'medical ide[ntity] cards'. These cards will include [the] information about a persons health s[uch] as if the holder has had an anti-tet[anus] jab and if this has taken. In cases of [...] the data on the card can help save l[ives].

Social Welfare Minister in the sta[te of] Hesse, Horst Schmidt, said that in [...] accidents a victim lost consciousne[ss] the victim has a medical identity [card] which lists data such as if the person [is] diabetic, has certain allergies or h[igh] blood pressure this can helf save time [and] consequently life.

Local doctors have supported [the] medical identity card project. At [the] beginning of next year the cards will [be] issued to Hesse residents. The card [will] also include a statement on the hold[er's] willingness to donate organs of the bo[dy].

Fritz Mörschbach

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 30 June 1973)

Sex education

Most mothers, 97 per cent, are for the idea that their children should be given instruction in sex, but there is dispute as to the age at which this instruction should be given and by whom, according to a survey conducted by the *Barromäer Hospital, Trier*, and the Heidelberg University Clinic.

One thousand women were asked their views on this question and the results were recently reported in a Frankfurt medical magazine.

The younger the women were who were questioned and the younger they were themselves in receiving sexual

Lübecker Nachrichten

education the earlier were they in favour of their children being informed on sexual matters.

In fact only every sixth mother was in favour of her child being informed of the facts of life under the age of ten.

The questionnaire was divided up into various difficult aspects of sex education for the young. Eighty-nine per cent were willing to discuss pregnancy, 76 childbirth, 66 per cent questions of the sexual organs, sexual differences and menstruation. Only a half of the women questioned were in favour of information being given to the very young on the sex act, procreation.

Most of the women questioned were of the view that putting the information across to children was a difficult task. The survey showed that in the main it was considered the parents' job to inform their children, 45 per cent said the mother should undertake the task and 25 per cent the father.

Second on the list came the school although many women were of the opinion that sex lessons as currently given in schools were not acceptable.

The family doctor was also considered as a suitable person to tell children about sexual matters but few questioned looked with favour on books, older brothers and sisters, the church, friends or strangers as being the means of starting a child's sex education.

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 6 July 1973)

Marriage shy

Citizens in this country are obviously well on the way to becoming marriage shy. Last year 415,000 couples who were wed at registry offices had been engaged for at least ten years, according to figures realeased by the Federal Statistics Office, Wiesbaden.

The Office has produced an exact survey of marriages, births and deaths which showed that in 1972 there were four per cent fewer marriages than those entered into the previous year.

Marriage tendencies were examined back to 1962. When the young people born before the war, and the birth figures were high, came to marriageable age there was a 'second summit' of young people who went to the registry office to say "I do".

In 1950 a record number of 536,000 marriages took place.

There was a sharp increase in the number of marriages at the beginning of the sixties but this tailed off and fewer young people arranged to marry.

Twenty eight years after the war the generation born in the bad years 1942 to 1947 are of marriageable age and the statistics show that eighty per cent of the males and ninety per cent of females marry before they are thirty.

It has been assumed that a new marriage boom will occur in the second half of the seventies when that generation comes to think of marriage.

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 4 July 1973)

Foreign attractions

Registry offices in this country recorded that in 1971 approximately 14,600 women married foreigners and in the same year 11,000 men from this country married foreign women, according to a statement made by the Federal Statistics Office, Wiesbaden, recently.

German women favoured Americans most of all – 2,374 marriages – then Italians with 2,234 marriages and then Austrians, 1,920. 1,200 Dutchmen married German girls and over 900 Frenchmen. Eight hundred Yugoslavs plighted their troth with girls from this country.

Men from the Federal Republic favoured Yugoslavs most of all and married 2,144 Yugoslav girls, then Austrians, 1,627 marriages, and then Dutch girls, 1,200. German men wedded 900 French girls, 500 Italian girls and 500 girls from Scandinavia.

During 1971 a total of 88,000 children were born in this country whose parents or one of the parents were foreigners. Twelve thousand babies were born to a foreign and a German mother and 8,000 had a foreign mother and a German father.

Four thousand illegitimate children were born to foreign girls in this country during 1971.

(Neue Hannoversche, 7 July 1973)

Sesame Street

Continued from page 12

the teachers and 72 per cent of the [...] teachers thought that they might.

The preliminary results of the sur[vey] conducted under Professor Janpeter Ko[lb] do not yet provide any conclus[ive] answers but they do support t[he] television stations' decision to trans[mit] *Sesame Street.*

Comparing the findings with the mo[st] important passages in the definition of th[e] teaching and learning aims of the Germ[an] version of the programme – published i[n] Marche 1972 – reveals that the series ha[s] more than lived up to expectations.

One section of the definition o[f] learning aims reads: "Like the origi[nal] American version, the Sesame Str[eet] project is an experiment. We must wa[rn] against over-optimistic expectations a[s] the medium of television sets limits o[n] measures aiming at compensatory educa[]tion. The Sesame Street project can be a[t] more than one element of many ..."

(Die Welt, 11 July 1973)

SPORT

Weightlifter Rudolf Mang works for the world championships

Rudolf Mang, 23, heavyweight weightlifter and silver medallist at Munich, is back in business, flexing his muscles in intensive training for the world championships, to be held in Havana this September.

"On the flight back home from the European championships in Madrid I determined to show him what's what," Mang says. The adversary he means is Russia's Vassili Alexeyev, Munich gold medallist and still the strongest of the strong men.

Once the Olympics were over Rudolf Mang retired with his silver medal to his home village of Bellenberg. "Not that my Munich result disappointed me," he claims. "I never expected to be more than

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runner-up to the Russian. But suddenly it was all over. There was no longer anything to punish myself for."

Mang was not the only athlete with his "morning after" feeling. Others sought refuge in publicity, attending one reception after another and wallowing in their Olympic fame at village fêtes and Ministerial galas.

Rudolf Mang kept himself to himself, but there could be no denying the motivation for intensive training no longer existed. The Montreal Olympics, the next major landmark, are a long way off.

"I don't know whether other athletes feel the same way I do," Mang wonders, "but after the dreadful happenings at Munich the Olympics lost much of their attraction for me. Maybe that is why my present trough has lasted so long. The interval between Mexico and Munich certainly seemed far shorter as far as I am concerned."

In Madrid the European bronze medallist was "annoyed – not by my own performance but by Alexeyev."

Mang is an easy-going Swabian and only really feels upset when he reckons he is being unfairly treated. He stood up for his brother, for instance, when he was not selected to go to Madrid.

On this occasion agreement was reached. Providing elder brother Xaver Mang manages 350 kilogrammes in the jerk and snatch he will be selected for the team to fly to Cuba and the world championships.

What annoyed Mang in Madrid was something altogether different, however. "The way Alexeyev behaves does get your back up," he laments. "Everyone else might be thin air.

"He just about managed to shake hands with me at the victory ceremony. We have known one another for years now, yet he still seems to feel personally insulted if I even manage to lift the weights off the floor."

Rudolf Mang has now set himself a new target. "I intend to try and outsnatch Alexeyev in Havana." This, mind you, is his only real chance of upsetting the apple cart. In the jerk the Russian, who is far heavier, set up a new world record of 240 kilogrammes in Madrid. So the crash of weights on the floor of the converted gerage next door to the family home bears witness to renewed activity at workouts. Rudolf Mang plans to peak this autumn. Training takes up most of his time, but he does not neglect his goldfish, the largest of which he has christened Alexeyev.

Peter Bizer

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 7 July 1973)

Rudolf Mang with his brother in training (Photo: dpa)

Changes in professional soccer

KielerNachrichten

Two important decisions were approved by an impressive majority at the annual conference of the Football Association (DFB). The first is that from now on the DFB Cup is to be run on English lines.

From the opening round to the semi-final amateur and professional fixtures will be drawn out of one and the same hat. There will be no more seeded clubs and return fixtures will only be played when a game remains drawn after extra time and two hours' play.

Says Hans Deckert, DFB fixtures committee chairman: "I have been in favour of these changes since 1963."

When the second professional division is inaugurated in the 1974/75 season, a winter break will be introduced, lasting from mid-December till mid-January. The summer break will be slightly shorter by way of compesation.

Says Bayern Munich's board chairman Wilhelm Neudecker: "This is a great step forward, particularly for the fans, who will doubtless be 'thirsting' for good football by the time the second half of the season gets under way."

Uniform rules and regulations were approved for both divisions of the professional football league, including the establishment of a permanent appeals court for both clubs and players. The court is empowered to impose temporary injunctions and will thus be more flexible than the present arrangements.

In defining standard terminology for professional players' contracts the DFB has borne the lessons learnt from recent proceedings connected with bribery and corruption in professional soccer in mind, the hue and cry associated with what has come to be known as the Federal League scandal.

Delegates granted that the commission had done good work in drawing up rules and regulations for the professional game but there was criticism from the amateurs.

The amateur majority among the 17,000 clubs affiliated to the DFB are worried lest they have been hoodwinked by the professionals. "They don't take us seriously," one delegate complained.

(Kieler Nachrichten, 2 July 1973)



Pentathlon champion Malke Kebbenhoff having a go at the pole-vault (Photo: Sport Illustrierte/Andreas Wacke)

Pole-vault for women catches on in Cologne

I would never have imagined the girls would show such enthusiasm," says Isolde Voss, 33, an instructor at Cologne Sports Academy. "It is incredible how keen they are on it." 'It' is the pole-vault for women.

Three months ago both students and staff sniggered when Isolde Voss decided to try out her idea. They no longer smile when she and her twelve protégés turn up for their Tuesday training session.

The new discipline is not a set subject. The girls train in their spare time. Yet not one of them has missed training so far. "Pole-vaulting is fantastic," they all agree.

"Many men may comment that women will be throwing the hammer next, but I am convinced the pole-vault for women will catch on," Isolde Voss says.

"Girls are particularly well suited for the pole-vault, especially gymnasts who have put in practice on the bars. The movements have much in common."

In addition to jumping-techniques the Cologne girls are faced with another problem altogether. There is no pole as yet that has been specially designed for women, so they have to use the same pole as the men.

The handicap is that the girls weigh less than the men and the fibreglass does not bend sufficiently to give them the required uplift. As a result the best they have done so far are heights of between 2.20 and 2.40 metres, or under eight feet.

So it is that ex-sprint ace Jutta Heine still holds the unofficial women's world record for the pole-vault with a jump of 2.80 metres eight years ago, according to Manfred Beckers, who coaches Reinhard Kuretzky, Volker Ohl and others.

Beckers takes a dim view of the Cologne venture, however. "Pole-vaulters know how dangerous the discipline can be, especially for beginners. Serious accidents can happen when you miss the box and land clear of the pit.

"Besides, the women will soon find out that pole-vaulting is an expensive business. A good pole costs 300 Marks and you need at least two a year."

Klaus Lehnertz, 35, bronze medallist at Tokyo in 1964, is delighted at the idea. "At last a few women have realised how wonderful a discipline it is," he says. Lehnertz is a games master in Kassel.

It will take some time before the pole-vault is recognised as an official discipline for women. The weightiest argument so far fielded against the idea was the risks attendant on falling from a fair height.

Sports doctors sound a warning note. Abdominal injuries could occur. Isolde Voss reckons this problem to be past history now that latex foam rubber has replaced the old sandpits.

One thing is certain. The Cologne girls cannot complain about a shortage of spectators, though whether the fans who turn up on Tuesday afternoons are more interested in the pole-vault or the girls is a matter for conjecture.

Andreas Helms

(Sport Illustrierte, 12 July 1973)